Ardeo and Mooa by Wilson). The map published by one of these missionaries 175
(60) is innocent of villages. As to the cultivation of the country 361
they say: "At Tongataboo the country is flat and enclosed, and, though little [797]
cultivated, very productive" (65, p. 385). [311]

By Mariner's time the complete breakdown of the central authority and [712]
the internecine wars had forced people to take refuge in fortresses (*kolo*) [721]
from time to time. This seems to be the origin of the modern Tongan villages,
all of which to-day are designated by the word *kolo,* though none are
fortified. The ruins of old fortifications are numerous. [172]

Although the necessity of living together for protection disappeared completely 361
with the destruction of the fortress of Pea in 1852, villages nevertheless
persist in Tonga and appear to have come to stay. Christianity and the [795]
copra trade are factors that contribute to the maintenance of village life. [439]

## MODERN VILLAGE POPULATION

The large modern villages, such as Nukualofa-Maufanga on Tongatabu, [162]
Neiafu on Vavau, and Pangai-Hihifo on Lifuka Island, represent the acme
of development in village growth and consequently the greatest departure
from the rural distribution of population observed by Captain Cook. These 361
large villages are composed of an assemblage of unrelated family groups. 621
Thus, Hihifo, is said by one informant to comprise three groups of kindred
headed by the chiefs and matapule Tuita, Pouangi, and Tea. In the smaller [602]
villages, however, it seems likely that the inhabitants are bound to one another [178]
by blood ties and that these little communities do not depart far from
the grouping of people in ancient times. The tiny village of Siesia, Nukunukumotu
Island, is an example. The relationship of the 16 individuals of this
hamlet in 1920 are given below.

**House 1**

1. Kula, father of 5. A *toutai* (navigator or fisherman) and former mayor of Siesia. His wife was Finau of Folaha, Tongatabu, now dead. 361 621
2. Fatai, son's son of 1, named after brother of 1. 592
3. Maria, wife of 2. A woman of Maufanga, Tongatabu; upon marriage came at once to Siesia to live. 602
4. Solomon Tanaki, son's son of 1 and brother of 2, unmarried, named after brother of 1, by midwife. Born at Siesia.

**House 2**

5. Taani, son of 1, and father of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, mayor of Siesia.
6. Mary Anna, wife of 5 and mother of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9.
7. Mili, daughter of 5 and 6, about 13 years old. Twin brother dead.
8. Latu, son of 5 and 6, about 16 years old. He and 13 call each other by brother terms. They are of course only cousins. [601]
9. Mary, daughter of 5 and 6, about 9 years old.

565 775 795 Diligent inquiry revealed no trace of the belief mentioned by Mariner that the souls of *tua* perished at death, Christianity having endowed the commoner of to-day with a soul as imperishable as a chief's.

565 196 None of the many Tongans interviewed used the word *mua* (or the plural form *kaumua*) as Mariner does, to designate a class intermediate between matapule and *tua*. They concur in applying *mua* to a person whose two parents are of the rank of chief and matapule. Such offspring are designated also as of *eiki* rank, if the chiefly parent is of high rank; or as matapule, if the chiefly parent is low in the scale of chiefs. One informant defined *mua* as "persons who are placed above others of their rank because of certain superior blood in their veins." Sometimes the term *eiki* is added to *mua*. Thus the late chief Tuita was spoken of as *mua eiki*, because his father as a navigator (*toutai*) was matapule and his mother, the daughter of the Tamaha Amelia, was of chiefly rank.

565 574 276 643 196 The term *mua* is used also to designate the person in the king's kava ring who is *eiki*, matapule, and *toutai* all in one. He may hold the first place next to the king's matapule; no other chief can displace him, although a chief of proper rank may seat himself next and crowd back all others on that side of the ring. The person next the *mua* who is thus displaced is called the *muaheke* (*heke*, to move on the posteriors while seated).

565 196 The word *mua* means also "one who leads or goes ahead" and in this sense is applied to a matapule who goes to a place in advance of his chief, as when taking kava to a house for presentation. Thus, Lotoaniu, the matapule of the Tui Haa Teiho, would also be the *mua* of the Tui Haa Teiho. The word *tuumua* denotes the principal person with a chief; *hulumua* means to go with chiefs, to become a *mua*.

565 554 As the position which one occupies temporarily in an assemblage depends upon the presence or absence of superiors, Tuita may serve on one occasion as matapule to the king and on another may act as a chief and have a matapule administer to him. In other words, the person of greatest importance in an assemblage, even though of relatively low rank, becomes the president, so to speak, of the assemblage, especially if there is kava drinking. But some chiefs in Tonga are of such transcendant rank that they could on no occasion serve as matapule even to superior chiefs. Thus Tupoutoa could not serve as matapule to Tungi, his superior in rank. The fact that a chief serves temporarily as a matapule does not mean that he permanently assumes that rank, for real matapules, like real chiefs, have fixed hereditary titles.

565 I made several attempts to get lists of people grouped according to rank. For people of higher rank, there was, of course, no difficulty; among the people of chiefly blood, but without titles, the relative rank of individuals was difficult to establish.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Niuatoputapu Island]

In the meantime Pungakaitafola lived with Fakaositahole (a woman from Tonga), 634
and before she had any children she adopted a little boy named Vivili, and named him 622
Tuise, as her first child to Pungakaitafola. Later she had a child to Pungakaitafola 173
and its name was Tatafu. 551

3. Ikamafana I, fish boiling. Son of 2 and Siulolovao, daughter's daughter of Fotofili Alofi, king of Niuafoou.

4. Pungakaitafola, coral eating everywhere. Presumably older brother of 2.

5. Ikamafana II. Married Latutama, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu Maealiuaki; hence ruled in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Maealiuaki was an old man in Cook's time. Latutama was mother of 6.

6. Ngongo, noddy. The first Christian king. Son of 5. [795]

7. Seuilikalaekivalu, gallinule, calling eight times. This is an Uvean name. The reason for its application to the Niuatoputapu ruler was this: the fifth ruler Ikamafana II voyaged to Uvea with his son Ngongo and his daughter Veiongo. Ikamafana II was killed by the Uveans and Ngongo and his sister remained on that island. The daughter of the ruler of Uvea adopted Ngongo. Out of regard for Ngongo the remainder of the Niuatoputapu people who had accompanied him and his father to Uvea were not killed. Veiongo was taken from Uvea to Vavau and married Ulukalala (III or IV). The son of Ulukalala and Veiongo was Matekitonga, the father of the present Ulukalala.

8. U. Latumailangi, who was the ruling chief in 1862 and who died by 1877.

9. Joel Kivalu who died May 14, 1894.

10. John Panuve, the informant, son of 9. He died in 1923(?). The name Panuve is Fijian. [115]

On June 4, 1862, Niuatoputapu was formally joined to the kingdom of 634
Tonga by agreement, although in the days when the Tui Tonga flourished 642
Niuatoputapu was regarded as a part of the kingdom. Evidently in the stormy days in the early part of the nineteenth century Niuatoputapu had attained a considerable degree of independence. Even at the present time the status of Maatu in relation to the ruler of the entire kingdom is somewhat different from that of most chiefs. The late premier Tui Vakano said that Maatu was virtually a king and appointed his own chiefs. At the present time the chief under Maatu is Tangipa, which is a title created by Maatu. Evidently there were other titles earlier, for it is reported of Ngongo that upon returning from Uvea he overcame the local chiefs of both Niuatoputapu and Tafahi Island, and "extinguished all lineages (*haa*) except his own."

Thomson, in telling of the visit of Schouten and Lemaire to Niuatoputapu 173
relates that a man was struck in the breast by shot fired wantonly by the 551
Dutch. According to the Maatu whom I interviewed this man's name was Tauvaka, a name which has continued down to the present day as a chiefly title which is bestowed by Maatu. It is said that the original form of this name was somewhat different, being Taukuoaka meaning fighting power taken
root. This name was bestowed originally by an early chief upon one of his [622]
followers who aided in conquering Niuatoputapu.

> upon is upon the plan of Mahommed's very brothel. Pulotu Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, 775
> and Pulotu Tuumau are the names of the Tonguese three heavens. 772

Vaiola (The-water-of-life) is believed to be in Pulotu. The following 775
brief note, translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker from a manuscript written 772
in Tongan by Rachel Tonga, refers to it: 823

> It is said in the traditions that there is a country in which there is a fountain called Vaiola and the nature of this water is healing. If a sick person washes in it, he comes up healed. If a leper bathes in it he will be clean; if an old man he becomes young, the blind see, those afflicted with elephantiasis become well, the deaf hear, the dumb speak. People afflicted with any sickness need only plunge into the water to become well. Anciently the people longed night and day to do so, but it was not known where the water was situated. Some said it was at Pulotu, the residence of the gods, and some said that it was at the lower Fiji islands.

## DEITIES

The gods seem to have been considered as formless spirits (19, vol. 1, 776
p. 405) who might become incarnate in any shape they desired. Thus, the 776
god Taufa might become incarnate in his priest Kautae, in a shark, or in a 825
gecko (*moko*). Similarly, the deity Fehuluni might appear either as a man
or as a woman; and the goddesses Sisi and Faingaa might appear either as
herons or as women. As a matter of fact the forms in which gods did 776
appear seem to be strictly limited in number.

The term *fakamalanga* is applied to the god of one's mother, supposed to be kind in nature. The term also means intercessor. The word *ka* means to treat the gods with contempt.

Belief in the gods is by no means dead today in Tonga. Good Christians 795
occasionally see, or are afflicted by, the ancient deities. Even myths con-
cerning the ancient gods are still in process of creation. For instance, in [778]
Lapaha is a cylindrical stone called Levulevukefu, which in Christian times has been moved from its original position in the center of the Tui Tonga's gateway to its present position on the west side of the main north and south street of Lapaha. The fact of its removal is known, yet a story is current that it was thrown from Eua Island to its present position by Maui.

Near Maufanga, Tongatabu, is a cave called Anapusi (Cat-cave), because 825
some miraculous owls living there are said to have the power of assuming the form of cats at will. This, no doubt, is an idea that does not antedate the introduction of cats.

The mound called Tangata Haamea, built at Feletoa, Vavau, by the present 776
Ulukalala for his son Tangata Haamea, who in 1921 was a clerk in the 778
premier's office in Nukualofa, is constructed of stones taken from the platform (*paepae*) of an ancient god-house. The stones are supposed, as a result of

> After spinning the coconut, Kautae cracked it and then sprinkled everyone with 776
> coconut water. This was to make the sickness leave Taufaahau. After the god had 755
> restored the boy to health, Kautae changed his name from Ngininginiofolanga to 643
> Taufaahau. [553]
>
> Any chief sick a long while might be brought before Kautae, with such presents
> as roast pig and kava. The visitors sat very quietly while the god entered Kautae. 776
> The coming of the god was shown by Kautae's looking "like a fool." When the god 793
> entered Kautae he was seated. [The informant, the Kautae of 1921, had seen his father 755
> thus possessed.] Afterwards Kautae spun the coconut to determine if the person would 787
> live. Then kava was made for the god. The kava was drunk by the people, but sea [276]
> water brought in a coconut vessel was given to the god through his representative [415]
> Kautae. The kava was served in banana leaf cups, as was the salt water. These,
> together with the bowl and strainer were brought by Fakaotoota, the priest's attendant
> who was regularly appointed by Kautae. These were used anciently in place of coco- [415]
> nut shells. Salt water did not make Kautae sick. The god was still in Kautae when he drank salt water. Kautae shook all over when the god was in him. The movement of the body was an up-and-down trembling, arms flexed and shaking, head bowed slightly, eyes staring.

The succession to the priestly office of Kautae seems to have been as 793
follows: (5) the incumbent of 1921; (4) the incumbent's father; (3) the 428
incumbent's father's father's brother's son; (2) the incumbent's father's father's brother; (1) the incumbent's father's father.

The present Kautae said that, when a new priest was appointed at the 793
death of the old one, the god enters the new priest, even though the new 776
priest was only an appointee of the chief or of the king. The present Kautae, 287
who is a Christian, has never felt as though the god were going to enter him. [795]
His son, who will probably succeed to the title, is called Halafaiafenga.

There are two tales about an alleged tomb of the god Taufaitahi which 776
lies beneath the sea. One version places this tomb between Vavau and Niuatoputapu. It is said that in looking through the waters from a boat one can see the white tomb (*faitoka*) and usually near it Taufaitahi himself in the form of a white shark. The other tale attributes the tomb to the bay of Mua in the lagoon of Tongatabu, and between the island of Moungatapu and the place called Nahafu. It cannot be seen from the surface of the water on account of the mud, but by diving the alleged grave can be seen, a stone surrounded by white sand; it is called Muliafanini. The god himself is said to have dubbed this submarine spot his grave.

A tale refers to the seizing of a man named Fatuimoana by the shark god 776
Taufaitahi: 825
773

> A number of people were going to the island of Motutapu, Tongatabu, one day [524]
> to attend games of playing in the surf (*fanifo*). The shark seized Fatuimoana by the arm when he dived and dragged him beneath the water. The people could look down and see the victim being held by the great shark. The priest of the god was sent for and came in the boat. He dived down and brought the drowned Fatuimoana to the
> surface. The body of the victim was taken to the Hahake district in Tongatabu and [782]
> the inferior relatives of Fatuimoana had their little fingers cut off and brought as offerings to Kautae who was begged to restore Fatuimoana to life, but all in vain.

Another tale refers to the temple of Taufaitahi in Tatakamotonga, Tonga- 776
tabu, serving as a sanctuary (*fale hufanga*) for the chief Niukapu who was 773
being pursued by Taufaahau (later King George I): 778

> Taufaahau had pursued the chief Niukapu with the intent of killing him. The fugitive had gone to various houses of sanctuary, of which there were three. Two of these leaked badly (that is, fugitives were not safe in them), but Kautae's was tight (safe). Kautae's was the one to which the hunted Niukapu now bent his steps. Before his arrival, however, Taufaahau issued instructions that Niukapu be carefully watched, but not attacked. The watch was set. Niukapu's friends, however, advised him to carry several spears into the sacred enclosure, so that the watchers would suppose that he was a person belonging to the place. The ruse worked and Niukapu approached the enclosure without molestation and passed through the gateway.
>
> When it was seen that Niukapu had safely entered the sanctuary, Taufaahau gave 776
> orders that someone's finger be amputated. This was done and the finger presented to
> the god as an offering. Kautae's finger was then cut off as a counter-offering and 773
> sent to Taufaahau, who then slaughtered a man and had the body together with goods 778
> (*koloa*) carried to Kautae, the priest of the god. At this Kautae wept, because it 782
> meant that Niukapu must be surrendered. However, Kautae's daughter interposed,
> saying: "Weep not. Slay me instead, so that Niukapu will be free." She was im-
> mediately killed and carried to Taufaahau. That is how Niukapu escaped. It was
> said that in slaying the girl Kautae had made virtually an offering of his own
> life (*manava*). It was said of priests that it was better for them to die than that [793]
> anyone seeking sanctuary should perish. Niukapu in gratitude told Kautae to take his pick of his lands, but Kautae merely asked for Niukapu's kava and got it. When Niukapu's kava is called, Kautae can now claim it and seems often to do so.

Kautae, the present priest of the god, bore the name of Teukitahi before 776
his appointment by the Prince Consort Tungi. He belongs to the Haa Moheofo 793
or lineage of the Tui Kanokupolu The present Kautae is a Roman Catholic [795]
and, of course, does not exercise his priestly functions as did his predecessors. He was more than eighty years of age when I interviewed him. He emphasized that Taufaitahi was not a man who had died and had been deified like Fakailoatonga, but that Taufaitahi was a spirit from Pulotu; that the god himself is without form and without appearance, purely a spirit (*faahikehe*), who travels from Pulotu to Tonga in a spirit boat (*vakaloa*), which is tied at Vakafaioho, an inlet at Nahafu, near Mua. Then, he said, the god enters his priest, but never appears ashore in any form other than Kautae; at sea the god may enter a *tenifa* (shark).

This conception of Taufaitahi seems to fit the general Tongan idea as to the nature of the gods, in considering them intangible, invisible, formless
spirits. Taufaitahi differs from certain other shark gods in being regarded 776
as never having been a human being. Tui Tofua, another deity, incarnate 825
also in the *tenifa*, or man-eating shark, is said once to have been a living person who was transformed into a shark. In the same way, Seketoa, the fish god of Niuatoputapu, was also once a human being who proceeded to drown himself and became a fish.

[ca. 1830]

and became a priest of the gods." Just then a report was brought that Fakailoatonga 797
was dying, and I still gave Ulukalala advice. 798

When it was afternoon I told him, "I will go now to the sea, while you get ready your night dance," and he replied,

"All right."

And that night while the dance was being held Fakailoatonga died, and his body was taken to Makave. The next morning Taufaahau called me: "Come Peter, and we will go to the chief's funeral at Makave." And we went. After the funeral of the chief we went to plait baskets for carrying the sand to the grave.

The Vavauans embraced Christianity with great fervor. In 1835, there 797
was an outburst at Haakoka, Vavau; the people, becoming frenzied with 786 579
religious fervor, ran amuck. Many persons were killed.

Undoubtedly the Tongans of to-day are among the most devout of Christians, 795
having accepted Christianity with a very full faith. The following 771
quotation from a manuscript by Mrs. Rachel Tonga, a devout Methodist, is typical of the faith which they hold. After describing the ancient belief as to the Water of Life called Vaiola, Mrs. Tonga proceeds: "But it is all nonsense. The only healing water is the blood of Jesus. Whoever believes in him will be healed. Whatever may be our sins, if we believe in his blood we will become healed."

## HISTORICAL CONCLUSION

In this conclusion no attempt is made to summarize the contents of this 175
work. The probable periods of Tongan history are set forth below in 105
tabular form. It seems to me that four periods are distinguishable. The first is a pre-dynastic period before the coming to the throne of the dynasty of Tui Tonga, which terminated in 1865. The second period, which I have called the classic period, for during this period Tongan culture developed distinctive features, is further characterized by the expansion of the Tongan dominions. The third period is one marked by the decline and disintegration of the Tui Tonga's power. The fourth period is one of renaissance and European acculturation, with the Tui Kanokupolu supreme. The earlier dates given in the tabulation are only approximate.

I. Predynastic Period (before 950 A. D.; possibly beginning about 500 A. D.).
    Shell heaps probably the only cultural remains, though these continue to be formed down to our day.
    No legends that can be definitely connected.
    Shadowy reference to displacement of early rulers by Ahoeitu about 950 A. D.
II. Classic Period (950-1450).
    Tui Tonga I (Ahoeitu)—23 (Takalaua).
    Ahoeitu (1): Of divine origin.
    Tuitatui (11): Fijian and Samoan contacts prominent.
    Takalaua (23): Assassinated about 1450.
    Achievements of period: (a) Subjugation of Samoa, etc.; colonies probably established in Ellice, Tikopia, etc. (b) Development, or appearance, of great terraced stone tombs. (c) Trilithon erected.

element in the mixture. This was the first time that whites 177
had ever thought to stay in Pangai. Suspicion of motives 609
was therefore natural. It was only after some days that 123
suspicion was supplanted by the acceptance of familiarity
and we could slip into the everyday activities of the village.
Some, however, even to the end, appeared dour and unresponsive.
We had in fact the very definite impression that [157]
compared with some other Polynesian peoples, the Tongan
villager was much less open-hearted and communicative than
his kinsmen in other Pacific islands.

The average villager seems to have little personal 177
acquaintance with any white people in Neiafu. He may 609
recognize the doctor by sight, or one of the store-managers. 563
His relations with them will consist in an exchanged greeting
as he passes them on the road. With the postmaster in Neiafu his relations will be freer. This white man has lived in Tonga for many years, speaks Tongan fluently, acts also as customs-officer, deputy-treasurer, occasionally as acting-governor for Vava'u. He is friendly with the Tongans and they are friendly with him.

Intermarriage between whites and Tongans in Neiafu 563
is rare, although, to judge by the number of half-castes that one meets, it has occurred frequently in the past. Reason for this rarity is that now most of the whites coming to Tonga bring their wives with them. Half-castes tend to marry into other half-caste families. The addition of white blood to Tongan ancestry seems to interest the villager little. A very few of the villagers are known to have had one or more white grand- or great-grandparents. The matter is unnoticed and is hardly worth a comment to the villager unless some enquiring white is seeking information. This intermarriage in the past has always been of white men with Tongan women. This fact, taken in conjunction with the numerical proportions of Tongans to whites in the Kingdom, may hold the key to an understanding of some of the factors of social change and stability noted in the following sections of this report.

Most of the contact between villager and whites today 177
is carried on by village men. This applies particularly to 609
Protestant men. Few if any of the Protestant women have 795
come into even the most formal of contacts with white men

177 or women, except perhaps a very occasional and formal
609 meeting with a white missionary's wife. The case is slightly
795 different for the Catholics of the village. At least once each
[484] week men and women journey to Neiafu to attend Mass.
The women use this opportunity to consult with the Convent
[872] Sisters on matters that are of common interest. At least
one of the adolescent girls in the village is a boarding-pupil at the Convent School and several of the village boys journey each day to attend this same school in Neiafu. The teachers here are naturally all women. It is likely therefore that Catholic girls, women, and some of the boys develop attitudes toward white women that differ sharply from those developed by their relatives who remain Protestants. It is also likely that one reason for cultural conservatism in the field for instance, of birth customs, lies in this fact that the village women have practically no opportunity to acquire any knowledge of the birth-customs and practices of white women.

This reasoning would also appear to hold when applied
177 as an explanation for conservatism in the village woman's
609 dress. Her dress is of the overall sack-style known as the
291 "Mother Hubbard," a style introduced by missionaries to
[797] the South Seas almost one hundred years ago. The style
was then supposed to add a small amount of femininity to large amounts of modesty. It has been carried on unaltered to this day even though dress styles worn by the white women in Neiafu are only a little behind the latest Paris creation. Because of this lack of intimate contact however, between village women and white women there has been no incentive among the village women to alter or modify the old-fashioned Mother Hubbard dress.

177 Some have suggested that in this matter of culture-
contact women are more conservative than men in taking
[157] over elements from one culture to another. Whatever the
worth of this generalization, if it is assumed to hold true for Tongan women and is then considered along with the relatively few contacts that village women make with whites, a still further key may lie in our hands for interpreting the dynamics of culture-contact in present-day Tonga.

Village women have no opportunity to engage in domestic service among the few white families in Neiafu,

A few days after the New Year we summed up a week of 527
village festivity as follows: 574

> Christmas and New Year have passed by quite uneventfully. Beyond feasting and much church-going on Christmas
> Day, the villagers have paid no special tribute to the memory
> of Christ's birth. They have been much more excited about
> New Year. The last day of the old year was a day marked by 527
> extra-large feasts and culminating in a two-hour church service 574
> which lasted from ten to midnight. All the local lay-preachers 796
> together with their pastor kept the service going at the Free
> Wesleyan church by taking turns in quarter-hour prayers or 794
> Bible lessons. The pastor had brought into the church two
> noisy clocks which ticked away on the pulpit. Punctually at
> midnight, the pastor climbed into the pulpit, cut short the
> interminable praying of one of the more verbal lay-preachers
> and himself led the congregation in a fluent and final outburst of
> prayer. Thereafter the congregation broke up into small and
> excited groups. Each saluted everyone else with a vigorous [576)
> handshake and the Polynesian nose greeting. Then the meeting
> broke up and all went home.
>
> Each of the three Protestant churches welcomed the first 527
> minute of the New Year at different minutes. The three 795
> local pastors would have thought it undignified to synchronise their clocks during the day. As a result there was a range of at least thirty minutes between first and last New Year greeting—plenty of basis also for interdenominational discussion later on as to when New Year actually occurred.
>
> According to village custom the first week of the New Year 527
> is given over to rejoicing and thanks for the blessings of the 574
> year just finished. This thanksgiving has consisted of daily 796
> church-going, the interminable and almost continuous beating of wooden gongs by gangs of lads working in shifts, the eating of large quantities of food each day, interminable singing of church hymns each night by groups of adults and gangs of children, much sociable coming and going of groups of singers between one village and the next. The local "string band" has been on a constant perambulation of near and distant villages. Each visit has meant all-night *kava* drinking, eating, and playing of the five tunes that make up the band's repertoire. Voices have become hoarse, eyes red and puffy through lack of sleep; tempers are breaking easily through fatigue.
>
> We asked Biukala whether he had had a happy week. He 527
> replied that he had been happy for so many days that he was 461
> tired now of being happy any more. His most fervent wish was that the next week would come quickly that he might begin again his routine plantation work. His feelings were echoed

178
177 tinned fish. It is apparently easier for the villager to buy
262 a tin of beef from the store than to fish, even though the beef
[432] is the bull's toughest cut. But to buy the beef, you need
money, and money you get by cutting copra to sell to the local
[434] store. Thus, the villager has tended to concentrate on his
plantation and on his copra. From this point of view, the art
178 of fishing is being so rapidly lost that the sea is becoming
226 about as interesting and as important to the villager as it
823 is to the average large city-dweller in our own society.

178 The villager does not bewail the loss of his techniques.
He would become a mere sentimental antiquarian if he did,
181 especially where new methods and novel appliances are more
efficient than the clumsy and inefficient techniques of a past
age. Where he might well feel, however, that the balance-sheet shows him in the red is in the arts of fishing and
cooking and in the loss of the arts of leisure—the arts of
dancing, singing, and playing. Here Christianity has taught
[177] him that play is mere idleness, dancing is sinful, and singing
[795] respectable, provided only that the music and words are
concerned with sacred topics. As a result, the villager plays cricket and football in brief seasonal spurts and nothing at other times. He sings loudly in church, rarely at any other time. He leaves dancing to untutored children who dance in no tradition except that of their own making. All in all, change in these arts of leisure has given the villager time to spare. But for the *kava* circle and its saving sociability, he would tend to kill his time and then wonder why happiness so often eluded his searching.

## THE HOUSEHOLD

592 The Pangai household consists of that group of individuals living together which uses the same cook-house for
[513] the preparation of common meals. Generally this group
uses but one sleep-house. A further sleep-house may be
necessary however, if the numbers of the household are large.
592 The relationships of the persons making up the individual
602 households (as determined by a census taken of all the
[125] households in the village) consist of twenty-six different
groupings of kin. Omitting for the moment the biological
groupings of parents and children, there are represented ten
types of patrilineal relationship of household members to

844 mother calls out: “*Ko ho manava, mo hoku manava*”—literally, “My breath and your breath.” The father takes the afterbirth with the cord attached and digs a hole in the middle of a path near the house. He burns some dry leaves in this hole to warm it and then, when the fire dies down, places the afterbirth in the hole after wrapping it in bark cloth. The hole is then carefully filled in with earth.

Meanwhile the baby is being wiped clean with warm
water. It is wrapped warmly in bark cloth and allowed to
rest in the grandmother's lap. The medicine-man is given
[759] presents in return for his services: mats, bark cloth, food,
[465] sometimes money. The husband prepares a feast with as
big a pig as he can afford. *Kava* is served to all friends
[574] and relatives in the house. When the food is served, the
[262] mother may not eat pork. The most honourable part of the
pig, its back, is given to the medicine-man.

604 Two relatives who will later play an important role in
846 the child's life, observe a different procedure. The *meheki-
tanga* (father's sister) may come into the house and hold
601 the child in giving it a name. The *fa'e tangata* (mother's
brother) may not come into the house but spends his time
in the cook-house helping with the feast.

846 For ten days after the birth the mother is confined
entirely to the house. At the end of this time, the infant is
[854] given a warm-water bath by the mother's mother. The
mother may now leave the house to attend to bodily needs,
but stays closely confined in the house for the rest of the day
and night. This confinement lasts for three months in the
case of the first-born, for two months in the case of a second-
born, and thereafter for one month in the case of subsequent
[795] children. A formal baptism in the church marks the end
of this confinement of the mother. After this, the mother
returns to full participation in the work of the household and
in the everyday life of the village.

In the ten day confinement period, the routine is as
follows: Mother and baby lie on separate beds of bark
cloth. The mother's head is wrapped in a turban of bark
[854] cloth and she is covered with layers of bark cloth. Close to
her lies the baby surrounded with an enclosure of bark cloth
over which a piece of cotton or muslin is thrown to keep away
[574] flies. During the first day the father is busy preparing the

836 were virgins. This is probably true, but it is likely that more
freedom is allowed post-adolescent boys to enjoy what
experiences they can in any other village than Pangai. One
woman in Pangai is alleged to be a prostitute *(lele tau)*.
[548] Probably she has gained this reputation because of promiscuous habits and a natural tendency on the part of some
young men to bring her an occasional gift. Some after
[882] dark chaperoning is also due to fear of ghosts on the part
of young girls, especially if messages or missions take them
[775] close to the bush that surrounds the village. But present
[183] ideals of chastity in girls undoubtedly receive considerable
support from Christian religious sanctions. Both the ideal
[795] and the sanction are stressed continually in Protestant
church teaching and in Catholic convent-schooling.

584 Nothing can suggest more vividly current practices of courtship in Pangai than the following account of events in Biukala's life that led up to his marriage:

> One day, when Biukala was twenty-three years old, his father asked him which of the many girls of his acquaintance would be his choice for a marriage-mate. Biukala answered that he was not pleased with any of these girls, some he thought were pretty only, and none of them seemed clever. Many Pangai girls had sought excuse to visit his father's house, ostensibly bringing messages for his mother, but in reality trying to display their charms before a personable young man. His father's question served the purpose of bringing the matter of his marriage before Biukala's mind, so he thought he would visit other villages to see if he could find a more suitable mate than was available in Pangai. He already had a mistress in Neiafu whom he occasionally visited, but he did not consider her seriously as a mate.
>
> One day as he was on his way to visit some relatives
> 584 in an isolated village in Va'va'u, he passed through the village
> 574 of Ha'akio and was casually invited to stop and drink some
> 276 *kava* that was being prepared for a group of men, mostly
> old men with three or four younger men talking idly among
> themselves. The girl Sepi was making the *kava*. Biukala
> immediately noticed her skill, youth, and quiet assurance.
> He sat drinking *kava* all the afternoon and evening, studying
> 584 the girl carefully. Instead of going on to visit his relatives
> he returned to Pangai, thought about the matter for four

276 574 571 182 [535] [178] [177] [799]

It is hard to give adequate feeling for the manifold interrelations of the *kava*-drinking circle in village life. It is to be realized that the villager has few other outlets for his sociability. Old-style Tongan dancing has practically vanished as a folk-activity. None in the village has adopted the white man's dancing. The church does not sponsor social gatherings except choir-practice meetings where opportunities for sociability are rare. The men's work takes them for the most part to their gardens by day. *Kava*-drinking provides good reason therefore for coming together during the evenings to discuss topics of common interest. In a very real sense a large village *kava*-circle is the Pangai equivalent to the New England town-meeting. It provides an outlet for social impulses and a forum in which matters of common concern may be argued. Because the composition of any *kava*-group changes materially from one night to the next, it is possible for the village to develop a uniformity of opinion and at the same time to avoid any splitting of the village into conflicting or partisan sub-groups. Four churches and four religious dogmas in a small village might [795] be a source of tension when religious belief is still a matter of life and death to the believer. There is no tendency in the village for religious differences to be significant in the formation of *kava*-groups. Hence the *kava*-circle provides a common and neutral ground where men may meet on the basis of social need and for purely social purposes.

276 574 565 184 [171] [576]

It has been evident throughout this discussion that *kava*-drinking in this commoner-village of Pangai has none of those overtones of elaborate formality and delight in social design for its own sake which are so characteristic of the *kava*-circles among the Tongan noble class and also among the chiefly class of Samoa and other islands of western Polynesia. The villager is of course aware of this formality and etiquette as practised elsewhere in Tonga.[28] He has occasionally watched in all probability, a formal *kava*-party elsewhere when nobles have met or royalty has been greeted.

---

[28] The formal *kava*-circle with all its etiquette, rank-symbolism, and customs is well summarised by Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 156-170). This account should be consulted to gain some idea of the many differences between the informal village *kava*-circle and the formal circle composed of those of chiefly and royal rank.

of the interminable religious discussions that are a feature 771
of many *kava*-circles; by a study of dreams; by considera- 829
tion of the form into which some of the fundamental anxieties
of the culture are cast.

A brief extract from some of our field notes will be 771
sufficient to indicate the way in which religion has become 829
part and parcel of village life. We were talking casually one 124
night with a group of men about the use of omens and other
minor magical practises common in our own society. Then
we asked for the Tongan equivalents of these folk-beliefs.
All the men denied knowledge of any. Sesoni summed up
their attitude by saying with emphasis and with unanimous [782]
approval, that when the villager is worried today, he prays
to God to solve all his difficulties. He has no need for magical [789]
activities when prayer is the only thing that can help him.
The important thing about this statement is not that the [784]
villager never observes magical *tapu*, but that he has come
to look upon the Christian religion as an explanation for all
of life's problems and difficulties.

It is unnecessary to consider evidence of the Tongans' 771
belief in Christianity in detail.[30] Much of it stands in the
records of Tongan church history for all to read. All that we
do here is to suggest some further facets of the religious life
of the village.

Table 14[A] shows that Pangai has a large Roman 771
Catholic membership as compared with kingdom member- 795
ship. The kingdom as a whole is 88 per cent. Protestant.
Pangai is 78 per cent. Protestant. We have no particularly
valid explanation for this difference. The first three
Protestant churches in this table all represent varieties of
fundamentalist Wesleyanism whose doctrinal differences are
very obscure to the white inquirer—so obscure in fact, that

---

[30] For some of this evidence, see Beaglehole, Ernest, "Psychic 771
Stress in a Tongan Village." *Proceedings*, Sixth Pacific Science 154
Congress (in press), where the attempt is made to show the
fundamental conflict situations in the present day village culture.
Since this paper was completed Dr. Lopdell has recorded particulars
of two further cases of Tongans suffering from mental illness as the
result of trying to solve apparently insoluble conflicts between Tongan
custom and white economic patterns. The interesting point in this
context is that the conflicts have been worked out in terms of religious
symbolism and ideology.

A. [See category 116, p.126--Analyst]

771 they probably represent not so much significant differences
795 in the pursuit of spiritual truths but rather symbolic standards which served in the past and still serve today in the life of the village as catalytic agents in the obscure struggles of unusual personalities to secure expression in their conflicts with group-interests.

794 Church membership in Pangai is shown in the following
795 table:
162

TABLE 14.—CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN PANGAI.

| Church | Membership Men | Women | Boys[31] | Girls | Total | Per cent. village membership | Per cent. kingdom membership (Census 1931) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga | 25 | 32 | 27 | 23 | 107 | 41 | 58 |
| Free Church of Tonga | 24 | 12 | 21 | 16 | 73 | 28 | 16 |
| Church of Tonga | 6 | 4 | 7 | 7 | 24 | 9 | 10 |
| Roman Catholic Church | 14 | 12 | 15 | 16 | 57 | 22 | 12 |
| Other Churches[32] | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4 |
| Totals | 69 | 60 | 70 | 62 | 261 | 100 | 100 |

797 That the Tongans have really believed in their religion
795 in the sense of taking some doctrinal differences seriously, however, is shown by a brief glance at the religious history of the kingdom. The mission of the Wesleyan church was begun in 1822 and again in 1826. The mission of the Roman Catholic church began in 1842. Doctrinal differences
797 between these two missions and between the missions and the
778 still pagan Tongans, were inextricably mixed in the early
795 wars of Tonga, particularly in the war of 1852 when the
669 scattered islands were being united into one kingdom. The Tongan history-books stress the fact that this war was fought purely for political reasons and that religion had no part in it (as if politics and religion can be separated as neatly in the lives of men as they can by words on a printed page!). It is significant, however, that the king's army was composed mostly of Wesleyans while one of the strongholds this army

---

[31] Boys and girls, according to the classification of the church rolls, include those under the age of about sixteen years.

[32] "Other churches," of which there are none in Pangai, include the Church of England, the Church of the Latter Day Saints, and the Seventh Day Adventists. These three churches had a total kingdom membership in 1931 of 1,271 people.

attacked was the centre of the Catholic mission-work. And 797
it is also significant that after the war was concluded, 798
Napoleon III insisted on a treaty with the kingdom (1855) 795
in which the kingdom guaranteed freedom of religion and 669
agreed that any who had been banished or robbed of their
land because of religion should be allowed peaceably to return
to their lands again. The king objected that none had been
banished for this reason, but this clause remained in the
Treaty despite the objection. Thereafter Protestant and 795
Catholic remained and have remained at peace within the 798
kingdom, ostensibly at peace that is, because talk with
Protestant pastors that is turned to doctrinal subjects will
today, sooner or later, bring to the fore complaints about
the manner in which the Catholic church, for instance, is
alleged to recruit new members from among the Protestants
by alleged unethical methods. These complaints are probably
of significance not because of what they allege but because
they show that the Tongan takes his religion sufficiently
seriously to be worried intensely by doctrinal differences.

Differences within Wesleyan Christianity itself are a 795
further story. Shirley Baker, premier of the kingdom, a [645)
man of autocratic mind, and his king, Tubou I, in 1885
decided to form a new church, the Free Wesleyan Church of
Tonga. This action resulted in a split within the Wesleyan
church of the day because some Wesleyans did not wish to
join the new church. These Wesleyans were persecuted.
There was disorder, robbery, violence, and banishment of the
dissenters, finally banishment of Baker himself (1890). The
net result was two forms of Wesleyan Christianity. In 1924 [643)
the queen conceived the idea of bringing about a united
church. She tried to reunite the Free Wesleyan church to
the Wesleyan church to form the Free Church of Tonga.
But again a minority decided to be different and members
of the Free Wesleyan church who objected to the union
formed a separate church which they called the Church of
Tonga. Thus there have come into being three groups of
Wesleyans. The villager seems to align himself with one
or other of these three or with the Roman Catholics according
to vagaries which become explicit only when he thinks of
changing affiliation.

794
795 Some of the reasons for changing from one religious group to another are given in the following cases:

578 Betelo left the Roman Catholics and joined the Free Wesleyan church because of trouble over the theft of melons which he was growing on church land. Betelo felt that other Roman Catholic men had not supported his side of the case when two youths were charged with the theft. One Catholic even swore on oath that the melons in question had never been grown by Betelo. This quarrel rocked the Catholics for some weeks and quietened down only when Betelo left the church.

Sigaleti, who is an expert fisherman, left the Free Wesleyan church, taking his children with him to the Free Church of Tonga because he objected to the pastor's ban on Saturday-night fishing. Sigaleti would return from fishing expeditions in the late hours of Sunday and consequently either sleep all day Sunday in his house, or else sleep through the services if he managed to drag himself to the church-house.

Va'akau has perpetual quarrels with the pastors of the three Wesleyan churches over matters concerning the disposal of church-funds. He apparently believes that the pastors are not dividing church moneys according to church-rule. Hence he changes his affiliation with a regular frequency.

8 Latu got into trouble with the church elders at the time of the annual church-conference. He was charged with failing to provide an allotted share of food for the conference delegates. As a result, he changed church-membership.

Saimone is noted for his own independent interpretations of church theology. He comes into frequent conflict with the pastors over matters of dogma. These conflicts are generally solved by Saimone's changing his church.

Fa's husband was the bell-ringer of the Free Wesleyan church. He got into the habit of coming late for bell-ringing and so lost the privilege of this position. He left the Wesleyans in anger and joined the Catholics, taking his wife and children with him. Some time later Fa left the Catholics in turn. Her son was working for a Catholic who neglected to pay the son his wages. As a result, the son could not pay

his poll-tax and went to jail. In her anger at this injustice, 794 795
Fa returned to the Wesleyan church. 578

According to Biukala, Hausia and some of his friends left the Wesleyan church and joined the Roman Catholics because they were inordinately anxious to learn to play string-band instruments and some Catholic offered to teach them if they would change churches. Others are alleged to have joined the Catholics because the Catholics in turn are alleged to pay defaulting poll- and land-taxes for them.

The reasons just given for changing churches may not 794
be the real reasons. They are at least the sort of reasons 795
that are considered good reasons in this culture—the sort 153
of reason that the villager can understand because it rings 154
true, even though he may not approve the causes or the results of such quarrelling and defection. In all cases, however, one has the definite feeling that the good-enough reason is a happening that is seized upon to justify action which is already decided upon for other grounds: in all these cases, because of fundamental personality conflict between church-member and pastor, between church-members themselves. The ego feelings of some one villager suffer frustration. He changes church affiliation from a large to a small group or from Protestant to Catholic faith because in this way he can repair his dented security-attitudes both in the welcome that awaits him in his new church (competition for members between churches and faiths is keen) and by the feeling (if he becomes Catholic) that he is acquiring knowledge and
rituals which his Protestant friends do not possess. From 794
this point of view, then, it is clear that the four churches in 795
this small village play a dual institutional role. On the one 154
hand, the churches provide an explanation of this world and
the next, together with a code of morality. Both explanation 182
and code serve as integrating elements in the culture. On the other hand, the fact that there are four churches means that those in the village who are unusual, abnormal, a-social, anti-social—personality deviants in other words—can find haven in one of the churches when the others do not please. Thus, changing church-affiliation provides a means of solving on a social plane interpersonal conflicts that might otherwise

794
795
154
182
become strong enough to result in social disorganization and disintegration.

794
795
554
Changing from one Protestant church to another is also made easy by the fact that the one who changes does not lose any religious status in the process. If he is a lay-preacher in one church, he is welcomed as a lay-preacher into the other church. He does not have to start from the lowest rung of the congregational ladder and then work himself up to a position of higher social status in the new congregation. In this way the person who changes is able to satisfy personal conflicts on the one hand and preserve his village religious status on the other hand and at the same time.

795
798
From none of the Protestant villagers was it possible to obtain any clear idea of theological differences between the Wesleyan churches. Villagers simply take for granted the fact of the three sects. Only some of the more enquiring bother their heads about why and wherefore. Few of the Protestants, however, do not at one time or another worry about the existence of the Roman Catholics. This is shown by little things: when two Catholic boys went to jail for stealing melons, there was a sort of, "What can you expect but this?" look on Protestant faces; Biukala makes the habit of teasing and often angering Roman Catholic boys by making a parody of crossing himself whenever he sees them, or else trying to imitate the sounds and words of Catholics saying the Catechism; Kali takes the church medal that Ana wears round her neck, holds it up for all to see, then makes a few derogatory comments about idol-worship and makes as if to tear the medal from Ana's neck—those standing by approve of Kali's joking while Ana flounces angrily away. These little things are typical and indicate underlying antagonism. They are summed up by the opinion that is typical also of the Protestant villager: the Catholic becomes a good person by remembering long prayers—the Protestant must strive for goodness by a never-ending attempt to receive Christ into his heart and soul. The validity of this opinion is not at issue. It is given simply because it is the way in which the villager thinks about a problem that probably worries him more than he will admit.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

moment to send round the collection-plate. None could 797
lay out the funds thus collected in church-building with 177
better effect. None was so jealous of the honour and in- 178
dependence of Tonga, warning her when any of the great
nations cast greedy eyes upon her emerald shores. He [186]
designed the national ensign, and the royal standard with
three club-knives, such as the European officers strap to
their sides, and a dove carrying a branch in its beak, and
the Great Seal, and many other things that make a nation
respected. These were foreigners' things and their meaning was therefore not known to Tongans, but they were the
emblems of civilisation. He it was who ordered the timber for the palace and the churches and all the public
buildings, which cost a great deal of money. And lastly, [648]
it was he who persuaded a German Consul-General to
come to Tonga in a man-of-war to make a treaty, so that
Tonga was recognised of the Great Powers: for this
honour only a small island was given to Germany as a
coaling-station, and for his labours as interpreter between
the plenipotentiaries Mr Baker received, as was right and
proper, a decoration from the German Emperor.

Then Unga, the premier and the king's son, died in 797
Auckland, and Mr Baker, out of his love for the king, 645
brought back the body to Tonga in a German man-of-war,
and consented to fill the place that Unga had left empty.
For charges had been made against Mr Baker—the great [794]
are always envied:—and a committee of his peers in the
Methodist Church had advised his removal to Australia.
Thus Unga's death saved him from the pain of leaving
the Tongans whom he loved.

Now the king had a grievance against the Conference. 797
795

797 795 Every year the mission collected for church purposes large sums that were not spent in Tonga, but were transferred to some other circuit more in need of money. He contended with reason that this money ought to be spent for the benefit of those who had contributed it. Mr Baker, as head of the mission, had been the most active in developing a doubtful method of collecting funds; but as he, too, had a grievance against the Conference who had profited by his ingenuity, and turned round upon him when the facts became too notorious to admit of denial, he threw in his lot with the king. After King George he was now the most powerful man in the kingdom, and his power could be greatly developed, provided that the missionaries left him alone. He had to choose between conciliating or fighting them, and he chose the latter alternative as more consonant with his tastes. If he failed, their opposition to him could not be more bitter than it was before; whereas if he succeeded in driving them from Tonga, his government would be independent of all opposition, while his thirst to avenge his private wrongs would be gratified. It was a bold scheme, and it very nearly succeeded.

King George had long been asking that Tonga should be constituted a separate Conference, having control over its own finances; but unsuccessfully, because the Wesleyan authorities felt that an infant Church, whose members were but yesterday practising heathen rites, and who were never remarkable for diffidence or stedfastness of purpose, were scarcely in a fit state to be freed from leading-strings. Mr Baker began to irritate this old sore. [643] He suggested to the king that, if the Conference persisted

in resisting his most reasonable demands, he ought to set 797
up a Wesleyan Church of his own, a national Church, 795
ruled by the same laws as those that governed other 643
Methodist churches. He even persuaded his successor in
the chairmanship of the district, a Mr Watkin, to betray
his trust and secede with him. When all was ready, he
telegraphed to the Australian Conference, then sitting,
warning them to accept the king's terms, or suffer the
consequences. He was probably aware, when he sent
this telegram, that there was no time for the receipt
of a favourable reply before the date he had fixed in
his ultimatum, but he had, he considered, cleared his
own character, and he now proceeded to make his *coup-d'état.*

So the new Church was set up, and in a few weeks it 795
had been embraced by a majority of the people and of the
native ministers, who joined the new Church "out of
their love for Tubou" and received higher salaries for
their loyalty to their sovereign. The king's influence 798
was enormous, but Mr Baker had slightly overrated it; 797
for, in spite of all persuasions and threats, a very respectable 795
minority were left who flatly refused to turn,
not probably for conscientious motives,—for the tenets of
the two Churches were exactly the same,—but because
they disliked Mr Baker and were attached to the Wesleyan
missionary, and also because their natural obstinacy
and dislike of being "hustled" came to their
support. He had now to face the Wesleyans, armed
with very good grounds for complaint, and, to save himself
from losing ground, he had recourse to persecution,
petty at first, but descending later to rather gross out-

798 rages. Unfortunately for the Wesleyan cause, these
797 outrages were much exaggerated by well-meaning but
795 inaccurate friends, so that people grew sceptical as to
the truth of any of them.

798 Being now in the zenith of his power, in the enviable
797 position of a ruler who is his own treasurer and auditor
and also controls the law courts, he became, as men of his
stamp always do become, a petty tyrant, without the tact
or temper to control the disaffection he created. A dangerous
feeling against him began to develop itself among
the chiefs, and instead of conciliating them, as a shrewder
man would have done, he trusted everything to his
ascendancy over the king, and treated chiefs and commoners
798 alike as his inferiors in virtue of his office. In
797 1886 four prisoners, undergoing imprisonment for petty
682 offences, escaped from jail, and hid for months among
[681] the caves at the back of the island, living upon such food
[697] as the sympathy of the people procured for them under
cover of night. On the night of January 5, 1887, they
lay in wait for Mr Baker as he drove home in the dusk
with his son and daughter. They fired, but the shot
missed its mark, breaking the boy's arm as he ran to stop
them, and wounding the girl as she tried to screen her
father. The horse, not less terrified than its driver, bolted,
leaving the two wounded children on the ground, nor
could it be stopped until it had carried its master to a
place of safety. It was a savage crime, but the revenge
[694] taken for it was scarcely behind it in savagery. There
were wholesale arrests: there was a trial in the presence
of the native Chief Justice, a native jury, and Mr Baker;
but as the public was not admitted to the court, and the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

failed, I alone must take the blame. The blame of failing in such a service would probably dog me for the rest of my official career. 648

On the other hand, I might have the luck to succeed, and the experience was certain to be amusing. On the whole it seemed worth the risk. The High Commissioner was still telling me his proposals when my mind was made up.

The plans were soon arranged. I was to go to Tonga in the steamer chartered to take back the Wesleyan exiles. I was not to be hampered by a detailed letter of instructions, but, furnished with a mere outline of the policy to be pursued, I was to present myself to the king, and thereafter be left with a free hand, to be guided by circumstances as to my future course.

Meanwhile the exiles had been sent for from the island 798
of Koro, and on their arrival they were assembled to hear 167
from the High Commissioner the steps that were to be taken on their behalf. They were, he said, to go back to their homes after three years of exile, which they had
borne with praiseworthy fortitude. They were not sent [643]
back by the British Government: they were invited to [648]
return by their own king, to whom alone they owed
allegiance. They were not to think that because they had 798
been exiled for wishing to continue in their Church, this 795
invitation implied that their Church had triumphed. If they adopted a triumphant attitude in Tonga, or tried to push forward the cause of their Church, disturbances would be quite certain to follow, and they would be in a
worse plight than before. Any such conduct on their 798
part would be a poor return to the British Government 167
648

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

578 persons" had been endeavouring to set my native colleagues
against me, and they were so demoralised by the
turn affairs had taken that they talked freely of resignation.
[651] There were, in short, rumours of wars everywhere,
and not a shilling had been taken as taxes since the High
651 Commissioner left a month before. A little later I heard
439 the other side of the story, which was that an enterprising
436 copra-trader had persuaded the native Premier to proclaim
that the Government would accept copra in lieu of money
for taxes, and to sell the copra thus obtained to him at a
fixed rate; and Tukuaho, being new to the business, had
been easily persuaded that the offer was disinterested, and
had acted upon it, to the great indignation of the rival
traders and the detriment of the Government, as will be
explained hereafter.

But the worst news of all, although the least unexpected,
793 was that the Free Church ministers were up in arms.
798 They felt, naturally enough, that in Mr Baker they had
795 [797] lost a powerful champion, and that the Government was
no longer to use its machinery for the annoyance of their
adversaries, the Wesleyans. The return of the exiles was
a triumph for the minority, for among them were the only
persons of rank who remained faithful to the old Church.
[797] Mr Baker was their prophet and their *defensor fidei*, who
alone could keep alive the spirit of enthusiasm, and insure
the punctual payment of their salaries from the annual
[618] mission collections. Naturally enough, therefore, they
"talked *lotu*" from their pulpits—that is to say, they vilified
the rival sect, and hinted that the removal of Mr
Baker was but the preface to the seizure of the country by
186 Great Britain. Now every Tongan is hysterically patri-
829

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

644 upon Fatafehi's hereditary laugh, the more since I found
522 it useful when debates in the House were stormy, and
the opposition had to be silenced.

798 I was anxious to learn from Fatafehi what reception
795 the exiles had really had, for rumours were most con-
571 flicting. From his account it appeared that while they
167 had received no welcome from the people at large, this
had been unnoticed in the presents that had been showered upon them by their immediate relations and friends irrespective of Church. They were housed in a large disused building called the "Women's College," until such time as they could make arrangements for moving to their old homes, or the mission should appoint such of them as were native ministers to vacant parishes.
798 They had not forgotten the hospitality shown to them in
795 Fiji, for late in the afternoon G——, who was alone in the
576 house, saw a long train of men and women approaching
with bales on their shoulders, evidently bent on perpetrating a ceremony. Now one cannot express gratitude with any accuracy in dumb-show, and the servants were therefore despatched in hot haste for an interpreter. Fortunately kind Mrs S. arrived just in time to save the situation, and reply to the set speech in which we received vicariously the gratitude due to the Government of Fiji.
[431] It took the practical shape of a pony, several live pigs,
rolls of *ngatu*, mats, combs, and the inevitable kava. Like all native presents, they had eventually to be paid for in return gifts of an equal or higher value.

645 Our new house adjoined the Government College, being
in reality the house of the English principal when such
877 an officer existed. The undergraduates were a continuous
873

# VI.

## THE POLITICAL USES OF A STATE CHURCH.

THE *bolotu*, or night-service, is a growth of Tongan soil. 796
As Christians the Tongans may no longer enjoy the mild [795]
excitement of taking kava to the shrine of a god, and see [782]
the priestess shiver and foam at the mouth in an ague fit, [793]
or hear her scream the favourable oracle in high falsetto.
The missionaries have stopped all that. True, they may [797]
take to preaching, but they cannot all preach—there must
be some to form the congregation. They have the histri- [152]
onic instinct, and no outlet for it in private theatricals or
drawing-room recitations; therefore they wisely make the
mission supply the place of that which it has taken away,
and to do them justice, they have produced an exhibition
far more picturesque than the religious orgies of the
Salvation Army.

The little thatched church blazed with kerosene-lamps [373]
that threw broad streaks of light from the windows upon
the palm-leaves wet with the rain, lighting the gay *valas*
and brown legs of several mysterious groups who had
formed at a distance. We found the inside of the build-

in virtue of his local rank. His office, however, seemed 634
to place him next to the Governor in importance, for he 624
alone can have the ordering of other men's labour without 554
paying for it—a distinction that carries weight in every 466
community. Tukuaho told them how much he regretted 645
that an empty Treasury had tied his hands, so that he 634
could not yet pay them the nine months' salary due to 624
them on Mr Baker's departure; but he announced that 465
from that day forward their salaries would be punctually
remitted to them, and that the payment of the amount
owing to them by his predecessor (he was not going to
speak ill of the absent) would depend upon their own
loyalty. The sooner they could induce their friends to pay [651]
their taxes, the sooner would they receive the arrears due
to them.

Next day the mail-steamer from New Zealand put in, 205
after touching at Nukualofa. From the former place she 797
brought Mr Baker's son—formerly his private secretary— 645
carrying, for distribution among the natives, a bundle of 795
lithographs of his father, subscribed "The Premier appointed by Tubou"; and from the latter Mr Watkin, the chief minister of the Free Church, and the staunch ally of the late Premier, ostensibly to make church collections, but also, as it afterwards proved, to further unsettle the minds of his flock.

At mid-day we set sail for Nukualofa. A chain of 823
volcanoes traverses the Tongan group from north to south, 795
and one or other of the craters is generally in a state of [133]
sufficient activity to be employed by one of the contending
Church parties against the other. In August 1886, [186]
the sudden eruption in Niuafoou was pointed to by the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

823 persecuted Wesleyans as a sign of the wrath of heaven 795 against the Free Church; but the tables were turned, [186] and the dull glare of Tofua, which we had seen every night from Haapai, was now seized upon by the Free Church ministers as a warning of the peril of the State from British machinations. But an eruption is public property, and I was told that Tofua was used by our own supporters to awe the opponents of "the just-dealing Government" into complacency.

With the view of seeing the crater more closely we 133 steered direct for Tofua, and were becalmed within two miles of the volcano long after sunset. The night was very dark, but every few minutes the dull glare of the crater was illuminated with a burst of flame, and masses of red-hot rock were projected into the air with deep reverberations. The crater was not more than 200 feet above the sea-level, and was close to the north shore of the island. I therefore tried to persuade the crew to take us into the deep strait that separates the island from the sugar-loaf cone of Kao. But they were frightened at the explosions, and flatly refused, urging that we should be becalmed on the lee side, and become a target for the missiles from the crater. It was useless to urge that the stones would not fall into the sea: they were obdurate, and we had reluctantly to steer southwards.

175 It was within sight of this island that, on the morning 177 of May 1789, the crew of H.M.S. Bounty mutinied and set their commander, Lieutenant Bligh, adrift in the launch. On landing at Tofua he was treacherously attacked by the natives, and John Norton, his quartermaster, was struck down as he was casting off the stern-

of peace had been talking war. My informant, the Wesleyan 578
missionary, showed me a letter from one of his 797
native colleagues which left no doubt upon the point.
Mr George Brown, the energetic and able head of the
mission, would have liked Mr Watkin to be allowed rope
enough to hang himself, but as that would have involved
the starvation of the Government, already reduced to
inanition, I decided to "belay." I was armed with a 648
letter from the High Commissioner—to be given or withheld 578
as I thought fit—warning him in plain terms that 797
abstention from politics was required of him. The time 795
for using this letter had now come. There being a special
reason for an interview for the purpose of adjusting the
outstanding accounts between the Government and the
Free Church, I invited him to meet me at the public
offices, and asked C—— to be present and take notes
of the conversation. The reverend gentleman was rather
restless throughout the interview, and seemed particularly
uncomfortable at seeing an unobtrusive figure busily
writing columns of figures at the other table. Experience
of his absent colleague's methods of diplomacy had taught
him where traps were to be suspected. I kept him in
conversation for some minutes upon matters affecting
the welfare of the Church, and then he seized his hat,
and would have beaten a precipitate retreat had I not
stopped him, and handed him the letter. As he read
it his face became cadaverous, and his hand trembled
so that he could not have understood the words. I told
him that there was a particular reason for giving him the
letter at this moment, since he was reported to have been
using the language of disaffection at Vavau, and, before he

648 could express the denial that rose to his lips, I read him
578 a quotation from one of his sermons in which he talked of
797 the injustice done to the good Baker, and of fighting. I
795 asked him whether to talk to natives of fighting was not likely to put the idea into their heads, if it was not there already. He said, "When I said that I meant to warn them of doing anything so foolish; and though I do sympathise with Mr Baker, there were many of his actions with which I did not at all agree." I then told him that the Government, with great reluctance, had resolved to take action against him unless he gave me a formal assurance that he would not only abstain from opposing them, but would also hold himself responsible for the actions and language of his subordinates; and I added that we expected more from him than mere abstention — he must give us a loyal support. After some hesitation he promised to do all that lay in his power, and C—— took his words down as he spoke them. He then said that there was one thing which he wanted very much to know—who had given me the information? I told him that I did not doubt his curiosity, but that I had not the slightest intention of enlightening him. The man might have fared badly if his identity had been known. Whoever he was, he was a good reporter.

797 However difficult it may be to sympathise with a man
795 who has betrayed his employers, I could not help pitying
793 Mr Watkin, who was made responsible for the actions of the most self-satisfied and insubordinate body of ecclesiastics in the world. Since Mr Baker's departure it was evident that his influence over them was waning, and

already they were asking why they should not elect 797
one of themselves as President of their "Conference," 795
and why their salaries should be lower than that of their 793
white brother. From this it is only a step to a new
and original interpretation of the Scriptures, and to a
bastard Christianity like the Hauhauism of the Maories
and the Tuka of Fiji.

Our three great *fonos* were a decided success. We rode 621
first to Hihifo with an informal escort of mounted police 645
and clerks, not excepting the faithful spy, Peter. Tungi, [493]
being past the age and figure for equestrian exercise, [492]
travelled in an American buggy, which stuck fast every
now and then in the deep mud caused by the rains, while
we rode on at the untiring canter that is the easiest pace
for Tongan ponies. Few of our escort had girths, and not [492]
all had saddles, but this did not seem to incommode them
in the least. We reached Kolowai, the chief town, plastered with mud, and halted under the celebrated colony of
flying-foxes. They were a revolting sight. Four great 825
banyan and ironwood trees shaded the road, and these
were covered with the living fruit so thickly clustered
that the branches drooped with their weight. Thousands
upon thousands hung there from their hind-claws, sleeping, crawling, squealing, quarrelling, stretching their
uncanny sails, and scratching their light-brown heads
with a winged claw. The leaves and the grass beneath
the trees had long ago been killed by their unwholesome
presence; and the stench was so overpowering that we
had to edge to windward. They are *tabu*—Heaven knows
why, for they do immense damage to the plantations—
and they are never shot at. Formerly, it is said, they

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

damning evidence of the price of blood, of some poor 645
human life sacrificed to the demands of inexorable state- 652
craft. Had this ex-missionary reverted to the methods of 451
medieval Italian republics to choke opposition? and dared he flaunt his infamy in the pages of his Government 'Gazette,' proclaiming with cynical insolence the exact price to a penny at which he valued human life? But an examination of the voucher brought relief not unmixed with bewilderment. It was headed "Assassination," but the money had been paid to an Auckland coachbuilder for the entire renovation, on the most expensive scale, of the Premier's private carriage. I tried honestly to discover by what process of reasoning the repair of a private carriage at public expense could be classed as Assassination. At last a light broke in upon me. Mr Baker had been driving when he was shot at three years before, and a bullet had struck the splash-board of his carriage. He had always spoken of the attempt on his life as "the Assassination," and he was now soothing his conscience for repairing the ravages of time at public expense in the same way as when he wrote "By special vote of the Legislative Assembly" in his account-books.[1]

The last item in the statement—"Extraordinary expense, £62, 7s. 9d."—included the cost of an enlarged photograph of Mr Baker, besides some other mysterious payments which we were willing to believe deserved the classification given to them, although we could never discover their nature.

In the ledger we found the entry, "Loan Account, 659
795

---

[1] I have been told that Mr Baker munificently presented this carriage to the king.

645 £1085." Sateki, the Paymaster, enlightened us. The
652 Free Church was about to hold its annual collection. The
451 enthusiasm had been wrought by soul-stirring sermons to
659 the pitch when a Tongan will strip the coat from his back,
795 and fling it into the basin to win one more shout of applause; but it chanced that money was tight, there was no copra, and the Civil servants all had debts at the stores. Mr Baker had surmounted such difficulties before when he was a missionary, and he was not to be beaten now that he was Prime Minister as well. He advanced their salaries on the eve of the collection, and stopped the loans out of their pay as it became due. As none of them seem to have died or to have been dismissed before they had had time to earn the amount of their advances, the Government lost nothing but the interest.

659 The financial relations between the Government and
795 the Free Church had been an inexhaustible theme for the
451 Opposition, and there was some disappointment among the mission party that our revelations were not more startling. There was indeed nothing to reveal, for the only record of these transactions was contained in a few sheets of loose foolscap, evidently compiled from memory within the last few months; for although the transactions had extended over a period of five years, none of the entries were dated. Mr Watkin, the President of the Free Church, assured me that he knew nothing about the state of the account, and in this respect he was probably no more ignorant than his wily colleague. The Treasury seems to have acted as banker to the Free Church, and to have imported at public cost whatever goods were required by the Conference, who paid over money on account from time to time as the

takings of the collection-plate permitted. The account 659
was never adjusted, but the Government is said to have 795
advanced £5177, and to have received £5065, leaving a
balance of £112 still due. When asked to pay this, Mr
Watkin, who appeared relieved at getting off so easily,
only asked for time. The Free Church had been living
beyond its means.

It was hopeless to verify undated transactions five 652
years old, but one strange entry provoked my curiosity. 659
Among the Government disbursements I read, "Loss 795
of mission copra, against—£167, 1s. 5d." In 1889 the 651
Free Church collections were paid in copra, which the
Government bought and stored in their sheds, crediting
the Free Church with £1289, 9s. 3d., the estimated quantity being 120 tons or more. When, however, this copra
was sold by the Government and weighed out to the
purchaser, it proved to be so much less than the reputed
quantity, that the loss could only be accounted for on
the theory of fraudulent weighing by the native who
received the contribution. Instead of charging the loss
to the Free Church, the Government complacently consented to bear it.

In a burst of loyalty to his royal master the ex-Premier 645
had, during the closing months of 1886, inaugurated a sub- 643
scription for a statue of King George, to be executed by an 651
Italian artist, and erected in the centre of the Malaekula, 652
the public square of Nukualofa. Money flowed in rapidly.
The High Commissioner headed the list, and scarcely a
European or native in the group failed to give according to his means. Sateki, as trustee, took charge of the
money, and the Premier was commissioned to order the

114 dent" was past reform, I promised to provide them with a
177 monthly letter. To the 'Star' I wrote that we were think-
659 ing of dividing our printing if we could find a friendly firm to undertake a portion of it, but that the inimical tone of their paper had hitherto prevented us from doing so. If, however, they would adopt an impartial attitude, I should be glad to meet them half-way by supplying regular news. Thenceforth I became "Our own Correspondent" to both papers, and wrote by each mail two separate letters, alike only in their colourless stolidity, in which neither favour nor ill-will to the Government of Tonga shocked the eye, and the printing was divided. This arrangement was not made too soon, for the wordy effusions of the disappointed schoolmaster, had they appeared in print, would have created a panic among our creditors.

795 The impartiality of the Government in sectarian dis-
798 putes had had the effect of allaying to some extent the bitter feeling between the rival Churches. But the Wesleyans still suffered disabilities, and were far from satisfied. The *abi*, or plantations of the ministers, confiscated during the disturbances, had not yet been given back to them, and indeed could not be restored without injustice to the present occupants, who were given possession in good faith by the late Government. The Free Church ministers still had possession of a quantity of timber, some windows, and a church bell, bought with the mission funds, and refused to give them up, on the ground that they were paid for with the subscriptions of the Wesleyans who have since turned to the Free Church. No doubt the property was vested in the trustees of the Wesleyan Church, but I urged forbearance, for every day of harmony was a gain

to the Wesleyan cause worth far more than the value of 795
the trumpery church property said to be unlawfully de- 798
tained. So long as the Rev. George Brown remained in
Tonga as the head of the mission the Wesleyans showed 795
the most admirable self-restraint. They bore their disa- 798
bilities with good temper, and did not run the risk of irri- 797
tating the susceptibilities of the Free Church ministers by attempting to regain any of their lost ground. But he was the General Secretary of Missions, and could not continue to stay in Tonga now that his Church was no longer in imminent danger of extinction. As soon as his restraining influence was withdrawn, and Mr C—— became the head of the mission, there was a change. He was an amateur lawyer, whose natural turn for hair-splitting polemics had been sharpened by much bandying of words with Tongan magistrates during the Reign of Terror. In an evil hour he came to Nukualofa, and with his brother-in-arms began to plan cutting-out expeditions into the enemy's country. They held the fallacious belief that the people were only deterred by fear of the king from returning to the bosom of their old Church, and that since a period of toleration had been proclaimed they might safely hold services again in the villages that they had lost. It chanced that an old woman from Havelu had lately been reconverted, and she, questioned as to the spiritual attitude of her fellow-villagers, declared that they were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to follow her example. Mr C—— consulted the impetuous Kubu, who told him that there would be no danger in holding services again in Havelu, and upon the following Sunday a chosen band of native teachers rode thither,

795 and reopened the long-disused church with a thanksgiving
798 service. In the evening the Free Church held a
797 *bolotu*, and in the excitement of that inebriating act of worship vowed that they would not again suffer their village to be desecrated by the hosannas of the *Fakaongo*.
795 Each speaker surpassed the last, until nine fanatics rushed
798 out of the church for their axes and fell upon the Wesleyan
797 church, hacking at the tie-beams until the roof fell
685 in with a crash. The news reached Nukualofa very late on the Sunday night, and before daylight the nine men of action had been haled to the police station, and thrown into the dark cells. Then the fiery Kubu, having had time for reflection, came to me for advice. I called at the mission-house and tried to point a moral. The reverend gentlemen were not a little aghast at the (to them) unexpected result of applying a match to dry gunpowder, and were as anxious as I to repair the damage they had done. The men had been arrested for rioting. They could not be kept in jail, but it would not be politic to let them out without trial. On the other hand, if they were severely punished there would be a new outbreak of
[696] indignation against the *Fakaongo*. I suggested that they should be brought before a magistrate that afternoon, and that Mr C—— should attend to beg them off on condition that they rebuilt the church. He seemed to feel quite a glow of Christian forbearance in anticipation of the lustre that so politic an act would shed upon him. An intimation of the stage arrangements was conveyed to the magistrate. The culprits—the only actors in the scene who had not learned their parts—had been so calmed by nine hours in the dark cells that they were ready to promise

anything, and the magnanimity of the Wesleyans in 795
begging them off was not without its effect. A disagreeable 798
crisis was thus averted, but the incident did 797 685
considerable damage to the cause of the mission.

Church matters were not going smoothly at Vavau. 795
The mayor of a small village took the opportunity of the 798
change of Government to turn Wesleyan, and Manase, the 634
Governor, immediately dismissed him. The right of dismissal [645]
of Civil servants, including mayors, is vested only [647]
in the Premier, and therefore Manase was obviously exceeding
his powers; but being a bigoted Free Churchman,
without sufficient brains to see that the Church had now
to learn to stand alone without bolstering from the State,
he did not stop to think of legality. If Manase's action
had been one of intolerance only, I do not think that we
should have interfered, for the coveted end of sectarian
peace would have been better served by the patient endurance
of all present injuries for the sake of allaying the
natural irritation of the Free Churchmen at the change
in their circumstances; but Manase had wilfully broken
the law, and this could not be passed over. Tukuaho [645]
wrote to order him to reinstate the mayor: Manase took
no notice of the letter. To a stronger command he replied
that "it was not his wish that any *Fakaongo* should hold
office," and therefore he could not reinstate him. This [643]
was a declaration of war, but the king only had power to
dismiss a governor, and he was at Vavau at the time, and
more likely to listen to Manase than to his Ministry.
News from the distant islands of Niuafoou and Niuatobutabu 795
was equally disquieting. No sooner had Kubu and 798
Sateki set sail than Tuia of the former and the powerful

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

795 Maatu of the latter island began simultaneously to intimi-
798 date the Wesleyans. "Mr Baker might be gone," they said, "but the church that Tubou set up was still standing, and they, as his deputies, would allow no other within his dominions. As for what Kubu said about toleration, that was a lie. Tubou had not changed." Maatu was reported to have reached Vavau about the time that Manase had declared his defiance of the Ministry, and it seemed not improbable that their false representation to the king would land us in still deeper embarrassments.
643 It was clear that at all hazards we must get hold of the
645 king, or, if we could not persuade him to come to the capital, take it in turns to shepherd him at Vavau. We decided to first send Tukuaho and his father Tungi, on the understanding that they would call at Haapai and persuade Fatafehi to accompany them, since he had the greatest influence with the king. At the last moment Tungi, who is too old for any diplomacy that involves physical exertion, withdrew—as every one had prophesied—and Tukuaho sailed on the 16th of October, undertaking to return in eight days with or without the king.

652 Two months had now elapsed since my arrival, and, but for the Customs dues, we were still existing upon credit. To retain the wavering loyalty of our Civil servants we had paid them a month's salary, and had given a public assurance that the arrears due to them by our predecessors would be dealt with by Parliament. With the remnant of our slender balance we had paid a quarter of our liabilities to merchants in New Zealand and Sydney—some £1500—so as to restore our credit abroad, but we had now to depend solely upon the arrears of the poll-tax

The cart stopped, and there was an animated discussion. 651
My envoy was apparently successful, for at last the wheels creaked again, and I saw it crawling down the road to the left. But when I saw the store-books that evening I found that no copra had been received. The man had taken the road to escape my importunity, but as soon as he was out of sight he had diverged along the beach towards the traders' stores.

Through the influence of the Wesleyan missionaries, [795]
who were anxious to compare favourably in loyalty with their rivals, a few of the *Fakaongo* had paid their arrears, but not enough to satisfy the contractor, who was becoming restive as time passed and his prospective profits grew more and more hazy in the distance. He now proposed [652]
to lend the Government money, thinking, no doubt, that if he could put us under an obligation to him, we should bring a pressure to bear upon the defaulters more effectual than the mere threat of seizure and sale of their chattels; but we "feared the Greeks even when bringing gifts," and declined. He objected to the issue of writs of distress, thinking rightly that the majority would prefer even that disagreeable formality to a few days' steady work.

The captain of the mail-steamer that arrived about this 797
time put into the hands of the Government a parcel of 645
printed papers, which had been handed to him by Mr 578
Baker for secret conveyance to some of his friends to distribute among the natives. Not wishing to involve himself in the turgid politics of the little kingdom, or to infringe the Customs law, he landed it at the Custom-house like any other parcel of merchandise. It proved to be an ingenious mistranslation in Tongan of the letter of

ember. The Free Church had taken this opportunity for 651
holding their annual collections in Vavau, and the people, [794]
having sold all their available copra to get money for the
church, had none left from which we could draw for the
benefit of the contractor. With this news came stories [795]
of persecution in the Niuas. The Wesleyans were again [798]
being persecuted, and it was rumoured that the people
had formed a league to pay no taxes. We held a Cabinet 645
meeting, and resolved that the four principal members of
the Cabinet, Tukuaho, Fatafehi, Kubu, and myself, should
make a tour through the islands as far as Niua. The
mail-steamer was to drop us at Niua on her way to the
north, and a schooner was to be sent from Vavau to bring
us back. But at Vavau the state of affairs was so unsatisfactory that it was decided to leave me behind to
settle matters with the copra-contractor.

At the moment of entering the landlocked channel 181
to the harbour one passes into a different atmosphere. The mood of the people of Tongatabu and Haapai matches their flat shores. They cover their restlessness with a crust of reserve even as the honeycomb of water-caves is hidden by plains and palm-groves: but in this land of orange-trees and wild precipices lives a different race. There is an unquiet activity about them, a vivacity of manner, a use of gesture to illustrate speech never seen among their cousins of the southern islands. The air, heavy with the scent of orange-blossom, is yet full of impulse. The men stride down to the wharf to meet the steamer, not ashamed to show that they have curiosity: the girls assemble in groups on the grassy road to chaff new-comers with an easy familiarity more respect-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

000 the defendant's conduct reprobated by the Chief-Justice as it deserved. Nothing abashed, the Wesleyan body rallied to the support of their calumnious brother, and appealed to the public to subscribe the costs of his defence.

797 Gradually the fervour of the first converts gave place
798 to the mere heat of partisanship. The Churches flourished
795 simply from their rivalry with each other. The Wesleyans poured their offerings into the missionary-basins as a defiance to the taunts of the Roman Catholics. The Catholics flocked to the church festivals to prove the superior attractions of their form of worship. But after the fall of Bea, and the consequent conversion of the heathen to one Church or the other, the active quarrels between the two missions began to die down. The Wesleyans were the strongest, and the Catholics saw that they could gain nothing by over-zeal in proselytising. The king and most of the influential chiefs were on the other side, and the attractions of pictures, music, and processions in their services did not outweigh the pleasures of being allowed to pray and preach, which were permitted to
000 every Wesleyan who had a turn in that direction. As an intelligent Wesleyan in Fiji once put it in accounting for the popularity of his Church, "among the Catholics there is no *torotoro* (promotion). In our Church we may hold family prayers twice a-day, and one may be a local preacher without ever entering the ministry. If that is not enough, one may enter the ministry and at last be ordained like the white clergy, and may preach continually, waxing hot in the discourse. The Papists have none of these pleasures. They may only listen to the priests without ever being allowed to preach."

The Wesleyan missionaries had made two mistakes— 797
they had humbled the chiefs, and they had vilified their
rivals. They were now to make a third. Political power
was in their grasp, and with the fearlessness of deep
ignorance they rushed on their doom. Brought up in 797
Australia to believe that universal suffrage and repre- 177
sentative government is the nearest approach to Utopia 642
attainable by mortal man, they persuaded the king and
chiefs against their better judgment to exchange the
ancient communal system for a bran-new constitution on
the English plan. Those who have seen the machine at
work in the Australian colonies will know best how it
was to behave in Tonga. They had sealed the fate of
their own cause. The commoners, accustomed to let their
chief think for them, now found themselves free to think
and act as their inclinations led them, and the first result
was a weakening of the influence of the missionaries,
who began to find the smattering of education they had
given to their native helpers a source of danger. The 797
native ministers had a vote in their district meetings, and 793
began to exercise it independently. Awkward questions 465
were whispered about salaries. What was the difference
between the foreigner and the Tongan, that the one should
have £200 a-year and a wooden house, and the other £20
and a grass hut? When Mr Baker brought his acquisi- 797
tive genius to bear upon the system of mission collections, 795
the conference in Sydney had still the absolute disposal
of the funds, and the country was annually drained of
many thousands of dollars over and above the cost of local
expenditure. Demands were not unnaturally made for
a share in the disposal of this money, and, as I have

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

797 related elsewhere, the Conference unwisely resisted the
795 demand for home-rule until it was too late, and Mr
Baker had gone over to the enemy and founded the Free
Church. Then all the dormant fires of sectarian hatred
burst out afresh. The majority of the native ministers,
tempted by the promise of higher salaries, went over in
a body to a Church in which they had greater liberty,
798 higher pay, and a satisfied feeling of patriotism. They
795 scarcely needed Baker's encouragement to persecute the
minority that remained faithful, for they knew that upon
the universality of the new Church depended their appointments.
The old, regarding them as traitors, would
never have taken them back except at a great disadvantage.
So they persecuted, and thereby awoke in their
opponents all the obstinacy of the Tongan character.

The old Church flourished under persecution as Churches
always have flourished. Left contemptuously alone, it
might possibly have died a natural death: under the
shadow of a promise of martyrdom, some of the vigour
of its lost youth returned to it. But the life-giving fire
was party spirit, not religious feeling. From the establishment
of the Free Church dates the real overthrow
[181] of devotional earnestness among the Tongans. The
change had been long impending, for the temperament
of the people is incapable of a steady warmth. A fire
of enthusiasm that had blazed so fiercely must needs
soon smoulder away into ashes. Henceforward the
form only survived—the spirit had burnt itself out.
795 With the Free Church a fourth party, who mockingly
771 called themselves the *Lotu jio* or "Looking-on Church,"
came into existence. They were the lukewarm, who

had now an excuse for declaring their indifference. For 795
the sake of peace they professed to belong to the Free 771
Church, but they attended none of the services, and in
reality they belonged to no Church at all. The Roman 795
Catholics, as neutrals, sucked no small advantage out
of the quarrel, for they opened their doors to all those
who feared to be Wesleyans and refused to be Free
Churchmen.

It is a compliment to the Rev. J. E. Moulton to say 797
that, in their hour of need, the Wesleyans were un- 798
fortunate in their champion. They wanted a rough-handed fighting man, cool, thick-skinned, and not over-scrupulous, who would meet such a man as Baker on his own ground, and fight him with his own weapons. They had instead a gentleman and a scholar, full of generous impulses and enthusiasm, a born teacher, whose field was the class-room, not the atmosphere of low political intrigue. Against each successive outrage his only resource was protest; and until it was too late and he had earned the king's enmity, he failed to see that calm good-humoured toleration of insult might have undermined Baker's influence where indignant remonstrance only served to strengthen his position. He left all the fighting to his coadjutor,—a gentleman with a natural turn for litigation, whose ill-directed efforts, while they embarrassed the native Government, inflamed the chiefs of the Free Church against the people he was endeavouring to serve.

These missionaries were unable to realise that the steadfastness of their followers was obstinancy under the lash of persecution rather than the fire of religious

797 conviction. The tenets of the new Church were the
798 same as those of the old, and therefore no conscientious
scruples could have weighed with the inflexible minority.
They were held really by the natural repugnance of
every man of independent character to being bullied into
doing a thing he has at first refused. But the mission-
aries expected that, as soon as the removal of Mr Baker
put an end to persecution, the people would flock back to
their old Church. They were bitterly disappointed when
they found that very few of their old adherents cared to
do so. The truth was that the old Church had become
unfashionable, now that its members could no longer have
771 the distinction of aspiring to martyrdom. Indifference
had permeated the new Church and the old alike.
People still went to church because the king did, and
because it was the sole opportunity for the display of
new clothes; but they dropped religion from their con-
versation, and spoke of their respective Churches only
795 as political organisations. The Wesleyan Conference had
[797] withdrawn Mr Moulton, and substituted for him one of
their ordinary ministers, ignorant of the Tongan language
and character, who found himself confronted with an un-
expected difficulty. The returned exiles from Fiji, of
whom the majority of their leading men were composed,
had been spoilt by the fuss that had been made over
[181] them. Their natural conceit as Tongans had been so
[563] fostered by their admiring friends, that they would no
longer submit to the control of any foreigner were he
563 a hundred times their minister. Perhaps the antagonism
797 to Europeans, which the early missionaries in their war
against the traders had so industriously cultivated, was

partly responsible for this. The missionary found himself 563
outvoted by the members of his own district meeting, 797
and the last vestige of the power of the missionaries was
gone.

One of the strangest features in this struggle of opposing 837
forces was the unwitting modification in the Christian 795
code as taught by the missionaries themselves. The 797
people were polygamists. Their climate, physique, and [684]
mode of life conduced to incontinence, which, however, was
kept in check by a severe social code of their own. This
the missionaries swept away. For the dread of immediate
physical punishment which the people felt, the missionaries
tried to substitute the fear of retribution in another
world,—a contingency too remote to have much weight
with them. The standard of social morality, never very [183]
high, was at once lowered, and the astonished missionaries
tried in vain to stem the flowing tide with every penalty
they could invent and enforce. Gradually their own sense
of proportion became warped. The seventh commandment
overshadowed all the others in their mental horizon.
The police, taking their cue from the Sunday sermon, [625]
let felons go their way, and spent all their energies in [674]
tracking down philanderers. Even the Legislature, copying [646]
the early missionary codes, gave such a prominence [671]
to offences against the social laws, that, provided a man
kept the seventh commandment in its widest application,
he might commit almost any other crime in the calendar.

The change in the temper of the people has not taken 797
place without a corresponding change in the spirit of the
missionaries. Tonga and Fiji are no longer regarded as
the fields for men of special talents. The young men sent

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

797 tions of their very existence in a spirit of mutual conciliation and tolerance.

It is an ungrateful task to endeavour to pass a friendly criticism upon so privileged a body as the missionaries. No one has yet attempted it without being accused of blind prejudice or envy that wilfully ignores the good in order to drag into a false prominence the defects from which no great undertaking is free. If I seem to have erred in speaking strongly of imperfections that continue to suck the life-blood of the mission, it is because they might easily be removed if the missionaries could clear their eyes from the petty irritations of the moment, and see that their real interests lie in following the doctrine they are teaching—to have charity one toward another. [795] Their predecessors achieved a great work. They found the natives almost irredeemable savages, and they so far influenced their outward lives that every man, woman, and child in the islands is a professing Christian; but they are going far towards casting away this precious result for want of a little patience and self-restraint. No one can admire more than I the admirable work that has been done: no one can more deplore the waste of so great an opportunity.

666 tors played a very secondary part. "We were called,"
said my informant, "to a *fono* on the grass behind the
666 Government offices. Mr Baker came out on the ver-
797 andah and said, 'You are summoned to-day to choose
645 a representative of the people. I propose So-and-so.
Those who are in favour of So-and-so will hold up
their hands!' Then several held up their hands, and
Mr Baker said that So-and-so was elected, and we all
went home."

666 It was not to be hoped that after such experiences the privilege of being an elector would succeed where the terrors of the law had failed. We heard afterwards, when it was too late, that had the hundreds of disqualified electors known the nature of the entertainment we provided for them, they would have sold their goods and given to the Government rather than miss it.

To invest the first free election with proper solemnities
a deputation of his Majesty's Ministers presided. Below
the verandah where we sat was a table furnished with
writing materials and the ballot-box. The entire male
adult population of Nukualofa sat in a semicircle on the
grass-plot, hemmed in with police as at a *fono*. Tukuaho
read the clauses of the Constitution relating to elections,
and explained that every qualified elector might write the
name of whomever he would upon the ballot-slip. Then
he called upon those who still owed their taxes for the
year 1889 to withdraw: about half the people rose and
[795] went away laughing. The dismissal of the defaulters for
1890 sent away fully one-half of the remainder; and when
"all persons under twenty-one years of age" had left us,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

there remained barely one hundred persons, composed, I 666
saw with growing consternation, almost exclusively of 795
Wesleyans—returned exiles—and men so old and infirm
as to be excused from taxes altogether. It was our own
fault. We had forgotten that the Wesleyans, having
been excused all taxes due for the period of their exile,
had only had one dollar to pay, and had paid it in order
to prove that their loyalty to the State was stronger than
that of the Free Churchmen. The qualified electors were,
therefore, Wesleyans almost to a man. The inevitable
came to pass. Each man came to the ballot-box and
filled up his paper without hesitation, and the scrutiny
showed that four Wesleyans had been chosen to represent
a constituency in which a vast majority were Free
Churchmen. Fortunately one of them was a British 666
subject, and I was able to give him his choice between
repudiation of his nationality or voidance of his seat.
As I expected, he chose the latter, and in his place Hoho,
pre-eminent among Roman Catholic schoolmasters, was
elected. Having thus initiated Sibu, the new ballot-clerk,
in his duties, we left him to hold the other elections
throughout the kingdom.

"He never yet stood sure that stands secure." With a 643
balance in the treasury, and an ever-strengthening party, 645
we were comfortably congratulating ourselves when the
bolt fell. One evening while the Ministry were playing
bowls on the sea-front after a protracted meeting of the
Cabinet, a schooner was seen bearing down upon the
anchorage. She was recognised as Maatu's vessel from
Vavau, and we were idly speculating on her errand when
she brought to unexpectedly and lowered a boat without

is, moreover, held in awe by the Commons, for "Tungi 646
ne montre jamais le fond du sac," as one of the French
priests said of him. He is followed by Mr W——, the 646
Pontifex Maximus of Tonga, clad in decent black, and 793
wearing an expression of deprecating piety. He is to [465]
earn to-day his stipend as Royal Chaplain, an item that
has received the anxious attention [142]
of the Cabinet, to whom [391]
a retrenchment of £100 a-year [802]
is of importance. He gives out [533]
a hymn, the member for Vavau,
who forms the choir, bellows the
tune, while the rest follow him
two octaves lower pianissimo.
The House shades its eyes with
its hand, while the prelate wrestles
in prayer and discreetly
withdraws. There is a pause.
Then Mataka, the chief clerk 646
(who, by the way, is still supposed
to be undergoing imprisonment
for flirting with the fair
Lobase), calls the roll. The new
members are now to take the
oath. The ceremony is imposing 646
until the turn of the two Roman Catholic members 795
arrives. They object to be sworn upon the Protestant 798
Bible, and a clerk runs in haste for a version of the Bible 779
translated into Tongan by the Roman Catholics. He
returns with a thick shiny-covered book, which the two
members kiss cheerfully. I examined it afterwards, and 646

*The clerk of the Parliament.*

compelled to reserve their main attack for the discussion 646
of the tariff. The four Wesleyan members were a trial 578
to us. They seemed to believe that they had a monopoly 645
of intelligence as well as of independence of character. 646
This was probably a natural effect of exile for conscience' 795
sake and the triumph of the cause for which they suffered.
The worst of these was Josaia, the head tutor at the
Wesleyan College. Teaching had become so much a
habit with him, that he spoke only to pour upon the
House the stores of his cultured mind. The House was
not grateful, and but for the standing order already
alluded to, I fear that Josaia would have been held to
deserve the fate of Socrates, and for the same reason.
Wiliame Maealiuaki was less didactic and more sensible, 646
but he had long been in the hands of the trading community,
and had a mission to get the Customs tariff
reduced. In other respects he was a supporter of the
Government. Vili Tai was cursed with a sensitive conscience,
which took him by the throat whenever he was
going to vote in accordance with his better judgment,
—at least that is what he told us. He has an ominously
long upper lip, and looks altogether like a retired Nonconformist
grocer of truculent respectability. Upon Vili
Tai's conscience assaults of reason beat in impotence.
We could only beg him earnestly to make a second and
more careful diagnosis of his symptoms before finally
committing himself to the cause of the Opposition.

The chapter relating to the Executive was passed without 646
serious opposition. "The Premier shall provide accommodation 645
for the members of the Legislative Assembly," &c. Tuuhetoka rises with troubled face. "It

797 his wildest dreams can have guessed how he
would carry it out. For when Mr. Baker came
797 back to Tonga it was as an emissary of the
794 [795] Church of England, speciously introduced to
the Tongans as the *Jiaji a Vika* (the Church
of Queen Victoria). Rebuffed by the Bishop
of Honolulu, to whom the Bishop of London
has delegated his authority over this part of
the globe, he had persuaded the Bishop of
Dunedin to give him a licence as lay reader.
It is no part of my business to criticise this
bishop's action, or to relate how the bishops
of New Zealand intervened to dissuade him
from going himself to Tonga to support his
protégé, but I may be pardoned for asking under
what authority of custom or ecclesiastical law
one bishop can issue a licence for what is virtually
the diocese of another.

794 The new Church was just the political weapon
578 that the party of the rejected princess wanted.
It offered a proof of discontent, it was a new
experiment in Churches, and, above all, it
[642] annoyed the king. It was safer than burning
houses, because, at the first whisper of reprisal,
you could stand boldly forth and quote the
Constitution about liberty of conscience. At
the time of our visit Ofa had joined the new

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
0U9 Tonga 0U9

136 remember the name of that powder, to give its inventor a gratuitous advertisement! In half an hour our enemies were all upon the floor at the mercy of a soft broom and a dust-pan. We filled two buckets with their kicking bodies, and fed the kitchen fire with them. We heard next day that every house in Nukualofa, from the king's palace to the pigsties, had been made uninhabitable, but that at sunset they had disappeared, to be seen no more till next year.

795 798 Our escort of policemen were most obliging fellows. One was a Wesleyan, the other a Free Churchman, and the friendly theological discussions in which they indulged from time to time showed that the bitter sectarian hatred, so sedulously nurtured by Mr. Baker, had quite died away. Ten years before a Wesleyan could not have hoped for the humblest government appointment.

825 I was bursting with the showman's pride as we rode into Kolovai, having wrought the expectations of my companions to the highest pitch. I begged them not to look up until we halted under the trees. When I gave the word they looked up, and then they looked at me. Surely these were not the trees! But the state of the foliage left no doubt upon that point. We

648 the funereal aspect of the meeting. The only
622 absentees were bed-ridden; even poor old blind
645 Tungi had been wheeled to the palace in his
[292] bath-chair. Among the new arrivals by the
634 steamer was Mateialona, the most intelligent and
643 enlightened of all the chiefs. The son of an
645 elder brother of the king's mother, he would
● 795 have had an earlier claim to the throne but for
the bar sinister: the influence that he would
have derived from his birth and character has
been somewhat neutralised by his loyalty to the
Wesleyan Church, which made him choose exile
to Fiji rather than bow the knee to the Free
Church which Mr. Baker had set up. He is now
Governor of Haapai, and whatever hope there
may be of the regeneration of King George's
Cabinet is centred in him. With his portrait
before the reader it is scarcely necessary to say
that he is a man of great purpose and strength
648 of character. The proceedings were conducted
645 with the old-world courtesy and decorum which
[576] is fast dying out in Tonga, except among the
[565] men of high degree. This is not the place to
describe the intricacies of our long, but friendly
contest; it is enough to say that after nightfall
on the second day of debate all the main
648 difficulties had been overcome. As it was so late,
643

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

# EURO-AMERICAN ACCULTURATION IN TONGA.

BY EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD.
University of California.

THE Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga, a British protectorate, 131
lies about a thousand miles north of New Zealand, four hundred south of Samoa, and two hundred east
of Fiji. The population of Tonga in April, 1921, was 24,935, 161
of which 23,759 were Tongans, 235 were other Pacific Islanders, 706 were other foreigners (chiefly Europeans), and 235 were half castes. The Tongan population of to-day is probably nearly as numerous as it was in Captain Cook's day.

There is no European colonization in progress, for 167
foreigners are prohibited from acquiring land except by 423
lease. The Tongans are Christians. The most important 795
church is the Free Church of Tonga, an offshoot of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church.* Two-thirds of the population belong to it. Next in numerical importance are the Wesleyan-Methodists and the Roman Catholics, each holding about a sixth of the population. Then follow the Mormons, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Episcopalians. Religious rivalry is keen.

With unimpaired population, with no Caucasian con- 177
queror in the land, and with its instiutions functioning 171
almost entirely through Tongans (except for friendly British financial direction), the kingdom of Tonga offers something of a parallel in Euro-American acculturation to the empire of Japan.

It is the aim of the writer to present a number of 121
examples, to make clear the manner in which acculturation is proceeding.

Tonga is now a constitutional monarchy with a legis- 643
lative assembly composed of ministers, nobles, and elected [642]
representatives of the people. The present monarch is Queen

---

* A majority of the Free Church and the Wesleyan-Methodists have this year, 1924, re-united.—Ed.

[p. 281]

Charlotte Tupou who ascended the throne in 1918 following 643
the death of her father, King George II. Tupou. The present [175]
ruler is from a line of chiefs that sprang into prominence in
the 17th century as lords of the western portion of Tongatapu Island. The installation of each chief of this line in the office of Tui Kanokupolu (which title the present ruler of all Tonga still bears) took place under an ancient koka tree *(Bischoffia javanica)* against which the nominee sat. The new situation has been met by inlaying the back of the modern throne with a piece of wood from the installation tree.

At the coronation of Queen Charlotte Tupou in 1918,
both European and Tongan ceremonies were conducted. The [276]
essence of the latter was the calling of the monarch's new title when kava, the ceremonial beverage of Polynesia, was served. One of the names assumed by the modern Christian Tongan monarchs is Taliai Tupou*, the name of the patron deity of their forefathers.

Anciently the greatest honours were paid to the Tui Tonga, the highest of the Tongan chiefs and reputed descendant of the sky-god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. The office of Tui Tonga has not been filled since the death of Laufilitonga, the last incumbent, in 1865. The honours accorded him were transferred to the reigning Tui Kanokupolu, George I. Tupou, who thus became supreme ruler of Tonga.

The last Tui Tonga died a Roman Catholic. His old 643
capital is to-day a stronghold of Catholicism and the chief 795
who is heir to the office of Tui Tonga is a Catholic. To the
Catholic Tongans the Pope is the Tui Tapu or Sacred King. 795

The head of the Free Church of Tonga, the aged Reverend J. B. Watkins, is the object of much respect and reverence. When the writer was on the island of Lifuka, in Haapai, the middle province of Tonga, in 1920, Mr. Watkins came there while engaged in his annual tour of the kingdom. At the beach a delegation of black-frocked Tongan ministers lifted him, boat and all, from the water and carried him inland. For two days people streamed to the erstwhile residence of Mr. Watkins with offerings of food. I say "offerings" instead of "presents" because that term seems better

---

* Tupou, not Taliai Tupou, is the royal name, and seems to be ancient as a name of the Tui Kanokupolu.—Ed.

795
to indicate the attitude of mind of the church members.
Needless to say the case has its heathen parallels.

Although the worship of the ancient deities is dead, 795
nevertheless there was living in Tongatapu Island in 1921, 178
one Kautai, who had only a few months before been installed
as priest of the shark-god Taufa. Though the worship of 793
Taufa has perished and his sanctuary is no more, still the [554]
title of his priest lives, each patrilinear successor having the
title conferred on him by the reigning monarch. The present
Kautai is a good Roman Catohlic. This perpetuation 178
of ancient titles is common in Tonga. Ancient powerful 554
chiefs are represented to-day by individuals bearing the
same titles, but utterly shorn of power.

Three ancient deities still manifest themselves. One is 776
Fehuluni, a disembodied human spirit, who sometimes appears 787
as a male, sometimes as a female, and usually in a
siren role. A native fired at a feminine manifestation of
this deity with a shot gun, only to find a dead lizard at the
spot where the apparition was seen.

Another deity much feared is the lizard god Tui Haa 776
Fakafanua. His headquarters in Tongatabu are within 784
Catholic precincts, where was formerly his sacred pool. Convent
girls shun the spot, for the evil reputation of the god
for causing feminine ills still lives.

Seketoa, a fish god of Niuatoputapu Island, has been 776
much in evidence in recent years. His incarnation is a great
fish which follows boats near Niuatoputapu. His presence
in those waters is unimpeachably attested by both Tongan
and European observers.

The royal tombs of Tonga are truncated, terraced 764
pyramids, anciently of enormous blocks of coral sandstone.
In recent decades the material utilized has been concrete. [178]
Tongans will not walk over a royal tomb, no matter how [769]
ancient.

Graves of commoners are marked by little terraced 764
mounds decorated with a mosaic of small stones of different 531
colours. To-day the designs are more intricate than
anciently, the coloured linoleum and title advertisements of [177]
magazines having furnished ideas for new geometric designs.

Ghosts now and then manifest themselves as of old. 775
In 1921, a Catholic girl, gathering shellfish with women on

a reef at low tide, suddenly fell down with some sort of 775
seizure. She was removed to the hospital. She declared
that the ghost of her mother's brother had struck her violently across the face.

Exorcism for the driving out of spirits from possessed 789
persons is still sometimes practised.

In the central province, Haapai, a man severed his 775
connection with the Free Church and became a Mormon. [795]
His friends and relatives who were Free Church members,
declared there would be no rest for his soul. In a few months he died. His widow and a relative were haunted by his ghost, which would rudely awaken them from sleep by shaking them. The nuisance was abated only when they resorted to his grave and broke up his skeleton. His visitations were thought to be a divine punishment for his disloyalty to the Free Church.

On the night following the excavation of some ancient burials on Kao Island the natives who were encamped a hundred yards from the tomb, said they heard wailing at the tomb. It was the " blood " of the deceased ancients bemoaning the removal of their bones.

Anciently the apparition of an illuminated native sail- 763
ing vessel—a ghost ship—forboded the death of a chief. To- [178]
day European type vessels and even steamers appear as
ghost-ships portending death.

In one of the more remote Haapai Islands is at least 784
one Christian minister who places effective tabus on grow- 241
ing crops to prevent the inroads of pigs and rats. The
writer has himself seen plantations guarded by both barbed
wire and tabu badges. The latter were observed in two 784
forms. One was a small package of pulverized herbs to [754]
cause illness in the trespasser. The other was a cocoanut
leaf bound on the trunk of a tree as the emblem of Taufa [789]
the shark god. This bore with it the prayer that the trespasser might be bitten by a shark when next he bathed in the sea.

Christianity with its Sabbath and various " shalt nots " 177
has found a ready ally in ancient heathen tabu. The tabu 784
idea has simply been transferred to another set of concepts.
For the same reason quarantines (tabus) against various 744
islands or groups of islands are readily enforced by the
medical authorities to-day. The game laws, too, are heeded 671

as are the ordinances against allowing domestic animals to 671
stray into public thoroughfares. Blue laws prohibiting work [688]
and play on the Sabbath are observed scrupulously by the
Tongans and diligently enforced among Europeans by the
Tongan police.

So thoroughly saturated is the Tongan with what might 798
be called "tabuism" that his attitude at times becomes
intolerant and even persecuting. A well-educated Tongan [186]
one day remarked to me concerning Sunday picnics of European
residents, "Well. what can you expect from ignorant
foreigners?" On another occasion I observed a helmsman
on a church-owned passenger vessel severely rebuked for
not joining in a hymn. When the schism occurred in the
Methodist ranks in Tonga and resulted in the establishment
of the Free Church, there was much downright physical
suffering administered to Tongans who preferred the old
faith. A number of these displayed the true martyr spirit.
Others became Roman Catholics rather than join the new
church and still others yielded reluctantly to the call of the
new church.

It should be noted that many Tongans have entered 797
the ranks of missionary workers and taken an important
part in Christianizing Melanesia and New Guinea.

Some Catholic churches in Tonga still use the booming 794
of the huge wooden native drums (lali) to summon their 795
congregations. The Protestant churches seem largely to
have adopted the less inspiring bell. I have noted, too, [202]
Catholic congregations seated cross-legged on the floor.
Protestant congregations seem more generally to use
benches.

A feast for the minister after his Sunday sermon seems 795
to be the established Methodist practice in Tonga. Apparently 796
we have here a good old Methodist custom which fits
"hand-in-glove" with the feasting of the priest at the time
of inspiration in pagan days.

Christianity has been a powerful democratizing factor 771
in Tonga. Through it the arbitrary powers of the chiefs 177
have been curbed and conversely the status of the commoner 565
has been bettered. Anciently commoners were supposed to [774]
have perishable souls. To-day their souls are imperishable
like a chief's. In addition to bringing about more of a 177
balance between these two extremes of Tongan society, the 793
571
565

American town. The police, perhaps, have a busier time 546
restraining playful young Tonga in the front rows. 571

Typewriters are coming into use. The writer encountered 212
one enterprising Tongan who took dictation in 177
Tongan direct on his typewriter. The same man was a good
photographer.

Writing, introduced by the missionaries, has done much 212
to preserve Tongan mythology and genealogy. As early as 814
1844 the Tamaha, the highest and most sacred Tongan [177]
dignitary, the sororal niece of the Tui Tonga, set down in
writing some of the ancient lore. Many others have followed
her example. If writing and reading have been the means 177
of preserving much old Tongan material, so too, have they 212
been the introducers of many foreign ideas. To-day one
can collect Tongan versions of Cinderella and Dick Whittington's
cat. Moreover, many a Tongan's clear conception
of the affairs of his nation in the first decade and a half of
the 19th century is due to his reading Mariner's "Tongan
Islands" translated into Tongan.

Although no accurate data are at hand, it is nevertheless 212
the writer's impression that the great majority of Tongans
are literate. Tongan orthography has offered a peg 212
upon which to hang a controversy with a religious back
ground. The Catholics use the symbol "p" to represent 194
the sound in Tongan which is really intermediate between 795
"b" and "p." It is a sound quite similar to French "p."
Inasmuch as the early Catholic missionaries were French,
they naturally represented the intermediate Tongan sound
with "p." The Protestants, however, used both "b" and
"p." or again "b" alone. The latter course is preferable,
because after all but a single sound is being dealt with.
Being intermediate this sound sometimes strikes an English
ear as "b," sometimes as "p." As a result of this rivalry 194
of "b" and "p," an actual phonetic difference has arisen 197
through the teaching of the mission schools. A single sound 795
has now evolved into two sounds. Which is used depends
upon the church affiliations of the speaker. A somewhat
similar case is to be found in "s" and "j," the former now
having almost completely replaced the latter in everyday
conversation. Although "s" is sponsored by the Catholics
it has come into general use and the "j" of the Protestants
is fast sinking into oblivion.

[Uvea]

"Fasten a stone to his neck, and drown him in the sea." In the midst of the prevailing indecision, and they being evidently afraid to proceed to actual extremities, he was permitted to depart in safety to his own house. Probably it was only a demonstration intended to terrify him into submission, seeing it was followed up by the incessant entreaties of the Romish priests that he would turn. All these attempts, however, signally failed, and the intrepid Mahe continued to conduct Divine service, and to preach to as many as would hear him, under cover of the darkness of night, and in appointed spots among the dense woods of the island. It was a repetition of some of the scenes, that were once witnessed, among the persecuted Covenanters of Scotland. The same faith and hope that nerved the hearts of those brave ones in olden times to the endurance of persecution and death, animated these less enlightened, but equally resolute Protestants, to similar deeds of self-sacrifice and even martyrdom. 000

At this juncture, Maatu, the King of Niua Tobutabu, arrived at Uvea. He had succeeded to the government of that island, after the massacre of Gogo and his people at Uvea, as before related; and being on his way to Niua Foöu, he was compelled, through stress of weather, to bear away for Uvea. It does not appear that Maatu had any intention, or desire, to retaliate upon the Uveans for the murder of his kinsman and countrymen. Had that been his purpose, he would have reached Uvea under very different circumstances as to strength of numbers and preparations for war. He was a professing Christian, and, so far as could be known, was sincere, pious, and consistent. 648 [634] [795]

797 was greatly surprised to see the alteration made in
this place, by the untiring efforts of its small but
increasing population. There are now thirty-five
[794] church members, out of about seventy residents, all
of whom have forsaken Houma, and heathenism,
during the last fifteen months. I arranged to-day
for the order and work of their new school. Many
of these people are beginning already to read the
New Testament. I have no doubt that more of
the Houma people will follow their example.
There are many persons there whose attachment to
Christianity is only kept secret from a fear of the
chiefs; and, when these find that they can with
safety leave Houma for Fatai, where houses and
land will be provided for them, under the king's
authority, they are not very likely to remain much
longer where they are.

Tuesday, 13th.—Visited Matahau and Fahefa, to
examine and arrange the schools. At both these
places, I heard a good deal about the agitation
among the heathen of Houma. I baptized two old
[795] men, who recently came from thence, and who have
given evidence of a sincere conversion from heathenism.
They tell us that there are many desirous of
[798] becoming Christians, but that the chiefs restrain
them, by saying, "No, let us wait, and see what
Bea does. If they (the Beans) fight, let us fight
too."

Saturday, 17th.—A vessel hove in sight, bearing
up for Nukualofa, which I at first hoped might be
the Mission brig; but, in this we were disappointed.
We hope the latter will not be long delayed, seeing
we are now miserably short of all kinds of supplies
[133] for household use. About seven o'clock this evening,
we experienced one of the severest earthquakes

797 tion, and in the evening conducted a public prayer-meeting, which was well attended.

Monday, 20th.—After visiting some sick people, and dispensing medicines, sailed about nine A.M. for Lifuka. The wind fell light, and becoming contrary as well, we did not arrive at home until four P.M. I have been greatly pleased with what I saw at Haano. The people have built David Kata a good and substantial house. The ground attached to it has been neatly fenced in. They have also built similar premises for the teacher who manages the school. They are evidently a willing people, and I have no doubt the Lord will visit them with "showers of blessing."

July 2nd.—Left Lifuka about two P.M., with a steady breeze for Uiha, which island we reached at sunset. We were met on the beach with much [574] cordiality by the old chief Malubo, and by the teachers, who had provided for us a huge repast, in the shape of *three* large baked pigs, with vegetables in proportion. Having supplied our own wants, we distributed the remainder, according to Tonguese custom. Uiha is one of the best of the [137] Haabai islands. It is particularly remarkable for its immense numbers of cocoa-nut trees. The chapel is a large building, and is situated in the midst of a cluster of large and graceful iron-wood trees.

Sunday, 3rd.—Held a prayer-meeting at sunrise, and preached at nine A.M. to an overflowing congregation. Baptized a large number of little [795] children as well as two adults, the lingering remnants of Tongan heathenism. At one P.M., I walked to a village called Felemea, two miles distant from Uiha. Here I met and examined ten classes of members,

its wishes known to the people. As far as the land is concerned, his 621
role is that of a field officer who knows which tax allotments are vacant 644
and which others are occupied and by whom. He was described to me as being related to the chief.[18]

There are four churches in the village, each belonging to a different 794
denomination. These are the Free Church of Tonga, the Church of 795
Tonga, the Wesleyan Church, and the Mormon Church. Although there are also Roman Catholics in the village, they have no church of their own. There are church functions within each denomination which demand the co-operation of all its own members. If a Mormon Church is being built, for instance, this is regarded as properly the task of the Mormons only and not of anyone belonging to any of the other Churches, between whom there is only minimal liaison.

Most of the households contain no more than an elementary family. 592
In some cases there are relatives of various descriptions staying with such families, and in others there are guests (including some from other islands in the Tongan Group). In a considerable number of cases it is affinal relatives, such as the wife's mother or brother, who live in the household with the elementary family. In a very limited number of cases, there are more than one married couple in a household. In every case, however, the household is the most persistent unit associated with work on the land.

Of unifying principles covering the *whole* village there are only 621
two: the people's common allegiance and subordination to their chief, 622
and the fact of common allegiance to the Government through its 623
representatives in the village. There is no village council after the [186]
Fijian pattern, or even after the pattern of the Samoan *fono*. There is indeed a Tongan *fono*, but this is a gathering of all the people to hear the orders of the chief, not one where sectional interests within the village are pitted against one another.

The land upon which the village stands and the lands upon which 622
its members plant their food gardens and cash crops are part of the 423
hereditary *tofia* of the high chief of the area. He has *tofia* in several 361
other parts of Tonga, but the one in which this village is situated comprises the following divisions:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 block for his own use — — — — | 209 acres |
| 101 *api tukuhau* held within the village — — | 833 „ |
| 40 *api tukuhau* held by members of other villages | 330 „ |
| 6 *api tukuhau* currently vacant — — — | 50 „ |
| 1 lease — — — — — — | 8 „ |
| Total — | 1430 acres[19] |

---

[18] There is no reference to a Town Officer in Pangai, only to an overseer who performs similar functions, Beaglehole 1941:25, 30.

[19] The figures given are approximate, being based on a calculation allowing roughly 8½ acres per *api*. In practice *api* are usually 2 or 3 perches more or less than this figure. The 40 *api* held outside the village are held by members of the "next-door" villages. The lease is to a part-European. [563]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

[195]

**Organized religion**, which has been thriving in Tonga for more than a century, today includes the Free Wesleyan (to which the majority of Tongans belong), Catholic, Seventh Day Adventist, Anglican, Free Church of Tonga, Mormon, Pentecostal, and Baha'i faiths. Pictured here is the modern Free Wesleyan Church building, uniquely designed by Tavi, in Ha'ateiho, Tongatapu.

**Kuo lava eni e senituli** 'e taha mo e 'i Tonga 'a e Lotu Kalisitiane. 'Oku 'i Tonga he taimi ni 'a e ngaahi siasi Kalisitiane kehekehe, 'o kau ai e Siasi Uesiliana Tau'ataina 'o Tonga, Katolika, 'Aho Fitu, 'Ingilani, Tonga Tau'ataina, Mamonga, Penitekosi mo e Pahai. Ko e ta eni 'o e falelotu Uesiliana 'i Ha'ateiho Tongatapu, 'a ia na'e langa 'e Tavi

[1, 51 c]

612 their *ulu i famili* do not coincide with those whom he considers to be his *famili* members. Judging from these two facts, the *famili* organisation seems to be not solid and not well structured.

Generally, there is a more or less close consanguineal relationship between an *ulu i famili* and the members of his *famili* organisation which includes the people of three or four generations whether lineally or collaterally related. When the organisation becomes larger, it breaks up easily, as if unconsciously. That there is nothing to bind its members to the *famili* organisation, such as the land property or group name, may make the organisation loose and easy to break up. Added to his, the functional role of *ulu i famili* is limited to the ceremonial occasions that occur vary rarely in one's life, and people may not be conscious of *ulu i famili* until they need him. The man who belongs to Pualiki could not answer the question who would be the next *ulu i famili* after Pualiki's death.

612 592 The looseness of *famili* organisation might be related to the family structure itself. If the patrilocal extended family were a basic form, the family would continue over generations and people would easily identify [594] the descent of *ulu i famili*. But most of the households consist of a nuclear family which does not last over generations and this makes the descent of *ulu i famili* obscure. A man of an historic family like Leka is supposed to be an *ulu i famili* of a large *famili* organisation. Unexpectedly, in fact, only four families of his brothers, grandson, and 32, whose relation to him is unknown, belong to him.

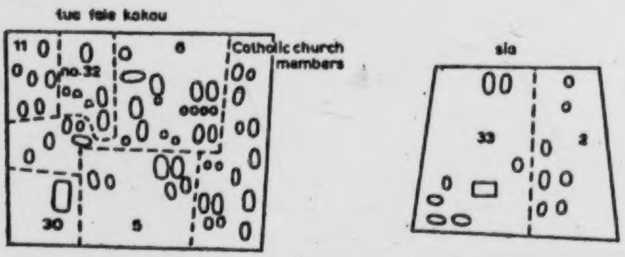
## IV The Functions of *Famili* and *Famili* Organisation

612 Then what functions have the *famili* and *famili* organisation, if any, and on what occasions, and to what degree, do they work?

*Malae*

764 There are two cemeteries; one is called *tua fale kakau* and the other *sia* which is much smaller than the former. In fig. 4, the *tua fale kakau* [795] is shown. On its northern side there is a section for Catholics who are a minority group in the village. In the central area, the graves of Leka's ancestors occupy a large space, upon which 11 and 32's graves encroach. A small section on the southern side is reserved for 30. *Sia* is located in the *api tukuhau* of 33 which is occupied only by 2 and 33 .

FIG. 4 Cemetery



*Malae* is thus divided by the several kin groups but without an actual 764 fence of demarcation. The people buried in a section of *malae* roughly [612] coincide with those who belong to the same *famili* organisation, but not always. There are mainly three reasons for this discordance. Firstly, it is not allowed to dig a grave in the same spot for about five years after the last burial, which means that one who dies within the five years may be buried with members of another family. Secondly, belonging to a [593] section in the *malae* seems, in the main, to be patrilineally decided; a wife may belong to her husband's place, children except married daughters to their parents' place. But the dead may, under some circumstances, be [593] buried in a section on the basis of their relationship with mother or wife. In the section of 30 at *tua fale kakau* 30's father as well as his unmarried daughter and 4's son were buried in these years. 30's father was born in Mu'a and came to this village to marry. When he died, he was buried at the corner of the Pualiki's section, probably because Pualiki's sister was his wife. Since then, the section of 30 seems to have acquired its position separately from the main section. Thirdly, a local bond is also recognised in deciding the section in which one shall be buried. For if a person from another village happens to die while staying here with some family, he will be buried in the section to which the family with whom he was staying belonged. A woman married out of the village died while she was back at her native home. She was buried beside her parents' grave.

### *Church Affiliation*

All Tongans are Christian. We can not understand fully the village 795 life without Christianity. There are a number of religious observances [796] for example, attendance at church service several times a week, strict [512] keeping of the Sabbath, prayers before each meal and before going to bed, which are integral parts of daily life for the villagers .

The Free Wesleyan Church, the largest in the Kingdom, holds a large majority of the village members. After this sect come the Free Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church and a few Mormons in this order. There are three churches in this village. The Free Wesleyan 794 Church and the Free Church of Tonga have professional stewards who stay here during the term of their service. The steward of the Catholic Church is a villager. The Mormons go to church in the next village. [368] The following table shows the church affiliation of the *famili* organisation. [612]

The basic principle in church affiliation is that a wife should follow 795 her husband, and the children should follow their father, which indicates [593] a patrilineal principle at work. But this is not always the case, as is shown in the table. In one case the elder brother (11) is Catholic while the younger brother (15) is Mormon. They may change their affiliation, for example in accord with the school-religion in which they were educated, or sometimes of their own free will.[18] 32 gives an example. He was a member of the Free Church of Tonga until 1956, but some unpleasant matter in the church made him and all the members of his nuclear family change their membership to the Free Wesleyan Church to

---

[18] Beaglehole 1941: 128-188.

10

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

795 which his father had formerly belonged. He was appointed as *malanga* in 1960 and given the honour to have *fakaafe* (mentioned below).

TABLE 7 — CHURCH AFFILIATION AND *Famili* ORGANISATION

795
612
554

| Household No. | Families which belong to him | Church | Honourable position |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 14 | F.W.C. | *malanga* |
| | 10 | F.W.C. | |
| | 1 | F.W.C. | |
| | 34 | F.W.C. | |
| | 24 | F.W.C. (His half-brother belongs to F.C.T.) | |
| | 33 | | |
| | 2 | R.C. (Husband and his first daughter. But his wife to F.W.C., the third daughter to Mormon.) | |
| 6 | | | |
| | 20 | | |
| | 22 | R.C. | |
| | 12 | F.C.T. | *faifekau* |
| | 32 | F.W.C. | *malanga* |
| | 31 | F.W.C. | *lotu fefui* |
| 28 | | F.W.C. (his wife's mother to F.C.T.) | |
| | 23 | | *malanga* |
| | 16 | F.W.C. (F.C.T. until 1956) | *malanga* |
| 30 | | F.W.C. | |
| | 4 | F.W.C. | *malanga* |
| | 8 | F.W.C. | |
| 11 | | F.W.C. | |
| | 15 | F.W.C. | *malanga* |
| | 13 | F.W.C. | *lotu fefui* |
| 7 | | F.W.C. | |
| 27 | | R.C. | *stewata* |
| | 3 | Mo. | |
| | 9 | F.W.C. | *malanga* (*formerly*) |
| | 17 | | |
| | 18 | F.C.T. | *faifekau* |
| | 21 | F.C.T. | |
| | 19 | F.C.T. | |
| | 26 | R.C. | |
| | 35 | R.C. | |
| | | F.C.T. | *malanga* |
| | | Mo. | |
| | | Mo. | |
| | | F.C.T. | |
| | | C.T. | |

It is now clear that the members of a *famili* organisation are not necessarily members of the same church. On the other hand, members of a nuclear family are loyal to the same church; a bride, even if she has a different affiliation, on her wedding, is ready to conform to her husband in religious affiliation, which may add strength to family unity.

795
593

6

## MACHIKO AOYAGI

If a man attends church service regularly and keeps on doing good, 795
he will be allowed to be called *lotu fefui* (catechumen), and if he can keep 554
on having a good record a few years more, he will be elevated to the
status of *malanga*. A few excellent men among the *malanga* may be
promoted to *faifekau* by the church president.[14] It is a great honour
and much respected to become *malanga* or *faifekau*.

### *Fakaafe for the New Year*

The last day of the year, it is said, is the most important day for 796
the Tongan. On this day, the members of the Free Wesleyan Church, the
Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga have *fakaafe*, a feast,
thanking God for the peace of the past year and praying for the happiness
of the coming year. Each *malanga* is invited to one *fakaafe* to say a
grace. After the feast, a *malanga* is presented with a bark cloth and a *sisi* 796
(ornamented girdle or waist band or festoon made of flowers and leaves) 574
by the host. It is a great honour for anyone to give *fakaafe* on this [292]
occasion. This privilege is conferred upon him by the steward of the [554]
church. In this village, eight men, (4, 6, 14, 16, 29 - steward, 30, 32, 34) [794]
in the Free Wesleyan Church and four men (2, 18, 26, 27) in the Free
Church of Tonga have been privileged to give *fakaafe* for many years.
Some of their kinsmen who help to make *umu* (food cooked in an earth [252]
oven) are then invited to share the joy of the feast. This occasion offers
us a good opportunity to observe kinship functioning. The details of
the feast are as follows:

TABLE 8 — *Fakaafe*

796
574
571
262
592
602
795
612

| Household number | Those who prepared food | Those who took a meal together | Food served |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | the members of his household only | 32 (*malanga*),<br>8 and his wife,<br>The household members. | 4 pieces of yam, 3 of *kape* (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*), 20 of sweet potato, 12 fish, 1 pig, 2 chickens, etc. |
| 6 | his son and 12 | 30 (*malanga*),<br>5. The household members. | 10 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 1 basket of sweet potato, some fish, 1 pig, 4 pounds of canned beef, 4 pounds of canned mutton etc. |
| 14 | two of his friends, the members of his household | 28 (*malanga*),<br>20, a woman from another village. | 6 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 20 of sweet potato, 12 fish, 1 pig, 3 chickens, 12 pounds of canned beef. |

---

[14] Rank differentiation in the different churches varies a little.

796
574
571
262
592
602
795
612

TABLE 8 — *Fakaafe* (continued)

| Household number | Those who prepared food | Those who took a meal together | Food served |
|---|---|---|---|
| 16 | 24, 28, 23, 15, 22, 21's daughter's husband | 22 (*malanga*), 4, 28, 23, 28's children, *24* & his wife, *15*, 5's brother, *21's daughter's husband*, husband's sisters, wife's sisters. | 16 pieces of yam, 6 of *kape*, 20 of sweet potato, more than 20 fish, 4 pigs, 6 pounds of canned beef, etc. |
| 29 steward | 23's wife, his friends | 5 (*malanga*), 8, 23's wife, wife's brother's son. | 4 pieces of yam, a lot of sweet potato, 4 fish, 2 pigs, etc. |
| 30 | the members of his household, 31's wife. | | |
| 32 | the members of his household only | The household members 29 (*malanga*), 34, 30's son, one friend. | 6 pieces of yam, 1 of *kape*, 30 of sweet potato, 10 fish, 1 pig, etc. |
| 34 | 1, 16, 5's son | 6 (*malanga*), a couple of his friends. The household members. | 5 pieces of yam, 2 of *kape*, 40 of sweet potato, 20 fish, 1 pig, etc. |
| 2 | the members of his household only | 7 (*malanga*), *33's wife 33's brother and his wife, 8 and his wife* (2's daughter), *9's daughter.* | 4 pieces of yam, 4 of *kape*, 2 baskets of sweet potato, 1 fish, 1 pig, 1 chicken, 1 duck. |
| 18 | the members of his household only | *malanga* (next villager), 2, 27 and his wife, 25 (steward) and his wife, *19's wife.* | 8 pieces of yam, 1 of *kape*, 6 big fish, 4 small fish, 2 pigs, etc. |
| 26 | 31 | 18, 25, 27, 31. | 8 pieces of yam, 8 fish, 1 pig, etc. |

Note to Table:
Those italicised belong to different religious sects from the host.

10

# MACHIKO AOYAGI

Those kinsmen who help and are invited vary according to the scale 796
of *fakaafe*. For example, 16 gave one of the biggest *fakaafe*. Those who 574
gathered for cooking on this occasion were his half brother (24), his 602
mother's half brother (28) with his son (23), his father's father's brother 612
(22), his wife's brother (15), and 21's daughter's husband, between
whom and 16 the relationship was not clear. They all belong to the Free [795]
Wesleyan Church except 15 and 21's daughter's husband, who are
Mormons. The villagers stress that the feast is offered to the God, not [776]
for themselves, and they know that the feast is under the prescription of
the church. The privilege of giving the feast is conferred by the steward, [794]
who also selects *malanga* to be invited, but those who help and attend it
are not necessarily the same sect members. In case of 2, a member of [795]
the Free Church of Tonga, he invited his mother's sister's sons with their
wives (33) and 9's daughter of twelve years old, all of whom are Catholic,
and his daughter with her husband (8), members of the Free Wesleyan
Church. He invited no one except *malanga* from his own church.
Mutual help among relatives is still found on such an occasion of religious [476]
character. Yet, this does not mean that those who participate are selected
on the basis of *famili* or *famili* organisation. There seems no particular
rule for selecting the participants.

On the last day of *uike lotu* (a prayer week in the beginning of the [782]
new year), Pualiki gave one of the biggest feasts in the name of his second
son. Eighteen pigs and more than twenty chickens were cooked for this
feast, and over twenty men helped the famil yin preparation. Pualiki was [476]
helped by one or two men each from 14, 10, 1 (his sons' households), 34,
18, 31 (his brothers' households), 7, 6. 20, 23 (the households of his
mother's relations); four men from 4 (the household of his father's
relation); three men from 9 (the household not related).

It is difficult from this list to determine which side of his relations [476]
helped him more.

### *Land Use*

According to Tongan law, every male Tongan on reaching sixteen 423
years of age, is entitled to receive a grant of 8¼ acres as *api tukuhau* and [884]
1 rood 24 perches as *api kolo*. But the actual circumstance is not always
in accord with the law. Even in Nukuleka, which is the Government 423
Estate, only 21 men over sixteen years of age have *api tukuhau*, while 28 621
have not. Among the 28 men, there are those who are not married or,
even if married, are still living with their father or wife's father or elder
brother who have *api tukuhau* in the same households. The remaining
11 men out of the 28 keep nevertheless their own independent households.
The following are the relations from whom these 11 men borrow part of 423
*api tukuhau* for cultivating: father; mother (she has received it from her 426
second husband); mother's half brother; grandfather and his brothers; 621
father's mother's sister's son; the third cousin; wife's father; wife's mother;
wife's brother and her sister's husband; one who is not related; Catholic
Church.

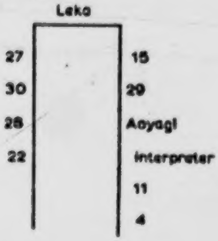
It is evident that all except two men borrow the land from their 423
*famili* or wife's *famili*. *Famili* members should help each other. They 621
612
426

17

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU3 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

This fact suggests partly that there is no system into which all the people 554
who were gathering at the circle recognised. 593
While I was staying there, I happened to be invited to a feast at the 602 276
end of the year given by the second son of Pualiki, at which most of the 585
villagers were present. The following Fig. 6 is the table showing the 574
seat arrangement. People took their seats around the long *pola* (food 574
tray made of coconut leaves). Leka sat in the front of the *pola*, on either [123]
side of which the officers of the church sat down. The other people, I
was told, might sit down freely anywhere. Among the ten persons, namely 574 576
Leka and the church officers, 27 belongs to the Free Church of Tonga, 795
15 to the Mormons, 11 to the Catholic, and all the rest are the members 554

FIG. 6 Seat-ordering at a fakaafe



[123]

of the Free Wesleyan Church. The speech at this feast was given by 554 574
Leka, first, followed by 15 (*matapule* of the Queen), 1, Pualiki's wife, 30 576
(town officer) and 29. In spite of the fact that 11 is the elder brother of [537]
15 and 15's *ulu i famili*, his seat is lower in the seat order than 15's. It
is also incomprehensible why 11 who is a steward of the Catholic Church
took such a low seat compared with the *malanga* of the other churches who
were invited to the places of honour.(30) From 30 to 32 are all *malanga* [561]
of the Free Wesleyan Church who sat in order of the age. Whereas 29
is young, he is highly respected by people as a steward of the Free
Wesleyan Church and always occupies a seat next to Leka in the meeting
of church members.(31) In short, the internal rank of the villagers based 574
on the kinship structure was not reflected in the feast at all, but the 554
rank in the church such as *malanga* and *faifekau* was highly esteemed, 621
and one's age or administrative or honourable status such as town officer 794
or *matapule* were considered among those *malanga* and *faifefau*.(32) It is 561 [796]
easy to see that the *malanga* of the church took the places of honour
because this feast which was given as a church function was dedicated to
God. Nevertheless, this was the only occasion in which an outsider could
know the rank of the villagers.

---

(30) Professor Newell suggested to me that the antagonism between Catholics and Protestants may explain this in part. [798]

(31) For instance, in *fakaafe* hosted by no. 28 on the day of Christmas nos. 6 (Leka), 5 and 30 (town officer) seated along one side of the *pola* in this order. On the other side of it no. 29 seated facing No. 6.

(32) For example, in *fono*, village council, the villagers gather to sit choosing any place around the town officer who conveys the Government instruction. [623]

attend services in the neighboring village. Other researchers' reports confirm this variability in the inter-village distribution of diversity. Thus, in contrast to Motulahi, where more than one third of the households in 1970 were composed of more than one family group, Morton reports that in the 42 households in another village in 1971 there was only one household consisting of more than a single family group (1972: 46), and Marcus reports that in a third village in 1972 one fifth of the households were composed of more than one family group (1973: 46-47).

182
621
[794]
[592]

c. The distribution of population among the different forms of any kind of social grouping varies from time to time. For example, people are liable to change their denominational affiliation. I first became aware of this phenomenon when I attended a service at one of the local churches in Motulahi and among the congregants was a woman who I thought belonged to a different local congregation. I spoke with her afterwards and remarked on my surprise at seeing her in church that day: I asked if she was merely a visitor for that day. No, she said, she belonged to the congregation. I asked if I had been mistaken in thinking that she was affiliated with a different denomination, and her response astounded me: "That's right, I used to be a Catholic, but now I'm a Methodist." This was said in a wholly matter-of-fact way, as if it should make perfect sense to me.

182
621
795
794

554 especially for men, their status is largely dependent on
794 their standing in the local church congregation and their
554 participation in congregational activities. The reason
771 this is so lies in the major emphasis on church-related
activities in the daily lives of Tongan villagers. The
Beagleholes' description of village life in the late 1930s
includes a section on 'religion' (1941: 124-135) that
clearly portrays Tongans' absorption with matters relating
to church membership and the infusion of everyday life with
elements that reflect the prominence of religion in Tongan
society, and this portrayal is still valid today.

Christianity has long been existent in Tonga. The
797 first missionaries to Tonga were sponsored by the London
Missionary Society as part of the Society's earliest
venture in the Pacific, in 1797. This mission lasted only
three years. The next mission effort, which was sponsored
by the British Wesleyan Conference, was not until 1822 and
it lasted only one year. While both these missions may be
regarded as failures, they provided both the Tongans and
the missionary groups with some experience of mission effort.
Finally, a permanent mission in Tonga was established
797 by the Wesleyans in 1826. What has been in question in
795 Tonga for more than a century has not been whether
Christianity would be accepted, but which denomination or
denominations would prevail. The Wesleyans who came in

797 1826 gained an early champion in the young warrior chief
795 Tāufa'āhau, who later became King George Tupou I. With
Tāufa'āhau's support, they managed for more than a decade
to exclude other denominations that sought to establish
a mission in Tonga. This came to an end, however, in 1842,
when the first Roman Catholic mass was celebrated on Tongan
795 soil. The next denomination to be established after that
came about through a conflict between the King of Tonga
and the Australian Wesleyan Conference. This resulted in
the founding in 1885 of the Siasi Tonga Tau'ataina (the
Free Church of Tonga). Some thirty-eight years later,
in the early 1920s, there was a further upheaval among the
Wesleyans in Tonga. One outcome of this was the founding
of a third Wesleyan denomination, the Siasi 'o Tonga
[797] ('Church of Tonga'). With the exception of the Anglican
Church, which entered the field before the end of the
nineteenth century, all the other denominations in Tonga
have been established only within the past fifty years, and
the majority have been established since World War II.[4]

---

[4] Two excellent studies of relations between church and state in Tonga--by Lātūkefu (1974) and by Rutherford (1971) --encompass the history of missionization in Tonga up to the end of the nineteenth century. Between them they cover the abortive early missions, the establishment of the Wesleyan mission, the establishment of the Roman Catholic mission, and the establishment of the Free Church of Tonga. The Beagleholes give a brief account of the circumstances associated with the inception of the Church of Tonga (1941: 127). Also see Marcus (1976: 171-173).

795 In the most recently reported census, held in 1966, adherents of nineteen different denominations were enumerated (Fiefia 1968: 70). However, only seven denominations each had a membership of more than one percent of the total population, and together the members of these denominations comprised ninety-nine percent of the population. The percentage of adherents of the major denominations is set out in Table 17, showing changes in the distribution of adherents as reflected in the national census over a period of some twenty-five years.

The seven major denominations in Tonga, in the order of the size of their followings in the 1966 census, are as follows: the Free Wesleyan Church (which, until 1972, was a member of the General Conference of the Wesleyan Church in Australia and is now independent), the Roman Catholic Church, the Free Church of Tonga, the Church of Tonga, the Mormon Church (Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints), the Church of the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Anglican Church. Each of these denominations was [797] established in Tonga before World War II. With the exception of the three Wesleyan denominations, all are foreign missions in the sense that they are centrally administered in Tonga by senior personnel who are sent or appointed from abroad. The exceptions are the Free Wesleyan Church, which is internally autonomous although linked to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 175]

## TABLE 17

### Adherents of the Major Denominations, 1931-1966

162
795
797

| Denomination | Percentage of total population | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1931 | 1939 | 1956 | 1966 |
| Free Wesleyan Church | 58 | 53.9 | 49.6 | 49.9 |
| Roman Catholic Church | 12 | 13.6 | 14.7 | 16.0 |
| Free Church of Tonga | 16 | 17.1 | 17.5 | 14.3 |
| Church of Tonga | 10 | 10.5 | 9.9 | 9.0 |
| Mormon Church | 4 | 2.9 | 5.1 | 7.1 |
| Seventh Day Adventist | | 0.8 | 1.5 | 1.8 |
| Anglican Church | | 0.8 | 0.9 | 1.0 |
| All other denominations | 0 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.8 |
| Denomination unknown | 0 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.1 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Sources: 1931 - Beaglehole (1941: 126)
1939 - Tupouniua (1958: 30-31)
1956 - Tupouniua (1958: 30-31)
1966 - Fiefia (1968: 23).

795 the Australian Wesleyan Conference, and the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga, both of which are indigenous organizations with no affiliations outside Tonga.

162
795 The national census figures showing the denominational distribution of the population can be somewhat misleading. There is no census breakdown of denominational affiliation among the people living in the different parts of the country, but the fact is that only the Free Wesleyan Church has a substantial proportion of adherents throughout Tonga; the other major denominations are unevenly distributed away from the main island. It is not possible for me even to begin to estimate what the distribution of denominational affiliation on the various islands might be, nor could an enumeration of the distribution in any one village be regarded as typical of the island. On the contrary, there may be considerable variation in statistical patterns of denominational affiliation between one village and the next. These variations reflect patterns of inter-village migration and random differences in fertility, as well as the effects of particular personalities and events. For example, the village of Pea on the island of Tongatapu was one of the early strongholds of Roman Catholicism and has remained a center of Catholicism to this day. Approximately half the population of this village are Roman Catholics, in contrast to the much

795 smaller proportion of Roman Catholics in the population as
162 a whole.

795 While the distribution of denominational affiliation
121 in any one village must be regarded as the outcome of
factors that are best understood in historical perspective, a description of denominational affiliation in a single village should serve to indicate what is involved in being a congregant and will therefore illuminate what it is I am talking about when I speak of Tongans' absorption with matters relating to church membership. Moreover, despite statistical variation in the distribution of denominational affiliation from one village to another, this description will indicate the local-level features of denominational multiplicity.

162 The village of Motulahi exhibits the deversity of
621 denominational affiliation that is characteristic of Tonga.
795
794 The denominational affiliation of the adult population
resident in Motulahi in the early part of 1970 is shown in Table 18. Each of the seven major denominations in Tonga had adherents in Motulahi. However, there can properly be said to be only five congregations in Motulahi (in the situation as it was in 1970), for the Anglican Church has only a single congregation on Tongatapu, based in Nuku'alofa, and the Seventh Day Adventists in Motulahi also belonged to a congregation based in Nuku'alofa (although occasionally

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 178]

## TABLE 18

### Denominational Affiliation of Adults Resident in Motulahi, 1970

162
621
795
794

| Denomination | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Free Wesleyan Church | 226 | 45.7 |
| Mormon Church | 92 | 18.6 |
| Roman Catholic Church | 70 | 14.2 |
| Free Church of Tonga | 56 | 11.3 |
| Church of Tonga | 35 | 7.1 |
| Seventh Day Adventists | 10 | 2.0 |
| Anglican Church | 3 | 0.6 |
| Denomination unknown | 2 | 0.4 |
|  | 494 | 99.9 |

Source: fieldwork survey.

162 they conduct services at the home of one of their members).
621 Even if the Anglicans and Seventh Day Adventists are set
795
794 aside, congregations are more correctly described as local groups rather than village groups. Each of the three Wesleyan denominations has its own church in Motulahi. (Indeed, the Free Wesleyan Church had two church sites, since for some years it had been in process of constructing a new building of brick to replace the existing delapidated wooden structure.) However, only the congregation of the Free Wesleyan Church could be said to be village-based in the sense that all members of the congregation are village residents, whereas not all the people who belong to the Motulahi-based congregations of the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga live in Motulahi. Some are residents of the small neighboring village of Tatafa, for their denominations do not have enough members to be able
[872] to support a congregation in Tatafa. Similarly, the Roman Catholics of Motulahi, together with those from other nearby villages, attend church in Nukutau (the village immediately adjacent to Motulhai), where there is also a Roman Catholic primary school. The Mormons, too, have a joint congregation with neighboring villages; their church is located on the boundary between Motulahi and Nukutau.
162 This is also the site of the church-run post-primary school
621
794 that is attended by many children from the district. The
795
872

162 621 Free Wesleyan Church also adminsters a post-primary school
794 for the district and a primary school as well. Both are
795 872 located in Nukutau.

794 Whatever the denomination, the local congregation is
621 the major source and focus of public activity in village
[626] life. Everyone is at least nominally an adherent of some denomination, and there are few in the village who can withstand the pressure of the expectation that they should at the very least attend church once a week. The Roman Catholic Church has no regularly-scheduled activities for the congregation beyond daily church services and three services on Sundays. Each of the other four local congregations, however, has a scheduled round of weekly activities. In the Mormon Church, there are two Sunday services for the entire congregation (see Table 19). In addition to this, on Monday evenings there is a family service (which people attend in elementary-family groups), on Tuesday afternoons there is a service for women (aged sixteen and up), and on Wednesday afternoons there is a children's service (up to about sixteen years of age). Besides services, there are a number of other church-related activities. Every Tuesday afternoon and evening, members of the church who are able to do so are engaged in genealogical research (an activity related to certain doctrines of the Mormon Church). Twice a week there is a practice

794 in their congregation--not necessarily all of whom choose
574 to attend, however. Others, less interested in pursuing
554 status through feasting or less able to do so, provide a
smaller feast. This, in turn, affects who invites them. Thus, congregational feasts provide occasions for on-going exchanges between feast-givers and their guests, on the one hand, and the hosts and those who have contributed to their feasts, on the other. People adjust their exchanges as their strategies for social recognition and their material needs and resources change, and every feast provides a new opportunity for re-defining relationships.

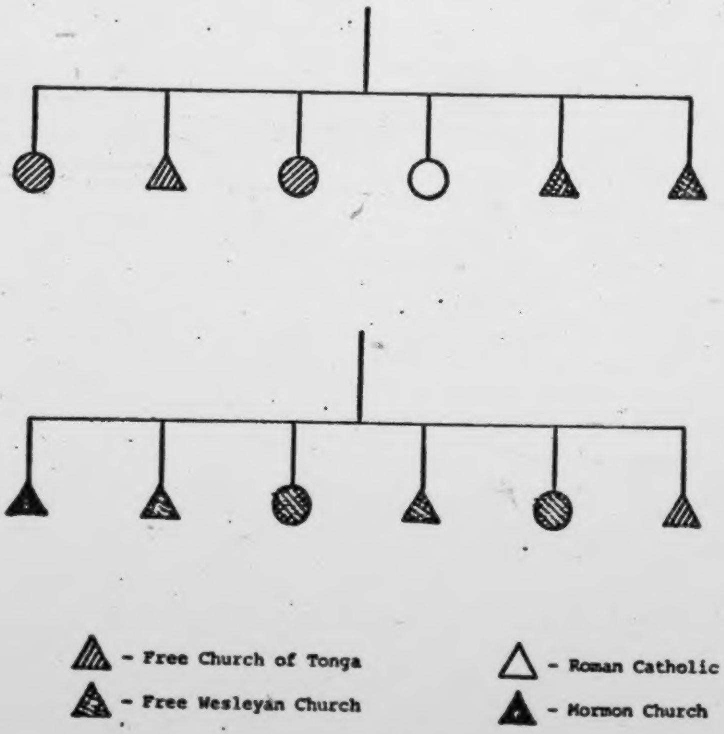
### Changing Denominational Affiliation

794 The avoidance of inter-denominational confrontation
795 within the village, noted earlier, is possibly best under-
612
592 stood as a tension-reducing accomodation to the fact that
the various denominations not only separate the village into a number of different congregations, but quite often cut across _fāmili_ affiliation and even household membership. (The phenomenon of denominational differences within the _fāmili_ is illustrated in Figure 9, which depicts the denominational affiliation of the core members of two of the _fāmili_ in Motulahi.) Where a household might be equally affiliated with more than one _fāmili_ in the village, it will usually be affiliated with the _fāmili_ whose members

794
795
612

FIGURE 9

Denominational Differences among the Core Members of Two Pāmili in Motulahi


- Free Church of Tonga
- Free Wesleyan Church
- Roman Catholic
- Mormon Church

794 are predominantly of their own denomination. If there is
795 no such choice, however, and members of different denominations
612 592 find themselves associated within the same fāmili,
then these people assist one another and make contributions
to one another's feasts, even if it is for a denomination
[574] other than their own. They may even be guests at such a
feast, and none of this is held to compromise their denominational
affiliation in any way. The same holds true
when members of a household belong to different denomintions.
Moreover, this is not a rare situation. There
were intra-household differences of denomination in
forty-three (30 percent) of the households in Motulahi in
1970, including differences in denominational affiliation
between parents and some of their married children in
fourteen out of fifty-one three-generational households.

794 Denominational diversity among kin arises in part
795 because switching to a different denomination is not
uncommon in Tonga. My data on this are incomplete, as I
[152] did not examine the phenomenon directly. What struck
[771] me was the seeming incongruity between the intensity
and apparent fervor of people's commitment to their own
denomination, on the one hand, and the equanimity with
which they appeared to view the fact of denominational
diversity in Tonga and their close kin being affiliated
with different denominations. That people switched deno-

794 minational affiliation and that this was also regarded
795 with equanimity merely seemed to me to be part of the same
problem, constituting one more set of data exhibiting the
apparent formlessness and flux of Tongan society.

As I understand it now, denominational changes occur in association with one of the following circumstances: through schooling, marriage, and what I speak of as 'personal retooling'.

Schooling

873 While education in Tonga is compulsory for everyone
[871] through age fourteen or completion of primary school, higher
[872] education has become an important element of social differentiation and there is tremendous competition for admission to secondary schools. (In 1969, for example, almost three thousand boys and girls took the entrance exam that would admit about seventy students to the first grade of post-primary education in the only government high school that
[658] prepares students for university entrance.)[8] Furthermore,
[794] while the government provides two-thirds of the primary
[872] education in the country, about 85 percent of all secondary students are educated in schools that are provided by the various denominations.

873 In considering the provision of education as an
794
795 element in inter-denominational competition for adherents,

---

[8] Report of the Tonga Department of Education (1970: 2).

873 it is useful to distinguish between its role in recruiting 794 new members and its role in retaining those who are already 795 within the church.[9] The Mormon Church in particular recruits many of its new members through the provision of education. To a lesser extent this is also true of the Seventh Day Adventists and the Anglican Church. Among the other denominations, however, the provision of education serves nowadays more as a means of retaining those who are already members. Only the Mormons, Anglicans and Seventh Day Adventists are in a position to admit students who are not members of the church, thus attracting potential converts. The other denominations have insufficient secondary-school facilities to accomodate all those who are already members.

In speaking of switching denominational affiliation through schooling, I am referring to those cases in which people who have attended a school run by a church other than that of their parents' denomination grow up to become members of that denomination. While they are children they usually belong to their parents' denomination, irrespective of the school they attend. But once they enter the age at which one becomes a full adult member of the church (that is, during their senior secondary school years), many

---

[9] For some further discussion of this element of inter-denominational competition, see Decktor Korn 1977.

873 switch their affiliation to the denomination that is
794 providing them with their education. In view of this, and
795 given the possibility that young people may switch their affiliation to the denomination that is providing them with their education, it is interesting to note that parents permit their children to go to these schools. The fact that they do allow this is further evidence of the relative lack of significance attached to the existence of denominational differences among kin.

**Marriage**

582 Inter-denominational marriage reveals another aspect
794 of the way in which denominational differences among kin
795 are handled. Such differences are seldom a barrier to marriage in Tonga, and it is entirely possible that a husband and wife will have been members of different denominations before they were married. In fact, there were 38 such cases in Motulahi out of a total of 150 married couples living in the village in 1970 (25 percent).

As far as I could determine, there is no general opposition to the notion of marriage between people of different denominations; parents and close kin may be opposed to the marriage, but beyond this other people are seldom concerned about it. Anyway, except for expressing their disapproval, there is little that anyone can do about the matter, and the couple usually deals with the

582 794 795 situation by presenting the certificate of civil registration of the marriage as a fait accompli.[10] Long-term refusal to have anything to do with the couple after this would almost certainly be viewed as too extreme. I was told of how one formidable old woman of the Free Wesleyan Church, incensed at her grand-daughter's announced intention to marry a Roman Catholic, tore off her clothes and rolled naked on the floor to express her anger and contempt. I saw no sign of these objections, however, in her present behavior towards her grand-daughter and little great-grandchildren (who are being raised as Roman Catholics).

In most situations of inter-denominational marriage, one member of the couple switches to the other's denomination. There were only four cases among couples living in Motulahi in 1970 where the husband and wife were not of the same denomination. (All involve marriages of long standing and/or older people; in each of these cases the woman is prominent in the community, although it is not clear to me whether this prominence is a cause or consequence of her denominational independence.) There is no

---

583 [10] It is my impression that there is a high proportion of elopement, nowadays--at least on the island of Tongatapu --even where the couple are of the same denomination; so much so that this cannot be regarded as merely deviant 585 behavior. By 'elopment' (mali hola) I refer to the practice of being married in secret; that is, with few or no close family members being present. All that is necessary is to register the marriage at the Public Records Office; no religious ceremony is required.

582 formal requirement that both members of a couple belong
794 to the same denomination. Nevertheless, a person's status
795- as a worthy member of the congregation is based in part
on his/her spouse's participation in congregational
activities and the children's induction into the church
through Sunday School, and in this sense it is necessary
that both members of the couple belong to the same denomination.
582 In almost all cases, it is the woman who switches
794 to her husband's denomination, rather than the other way
795
562 around. This reflects the fact that it is more difficult
554 for a man to establish his status as a full member of a
church than it is for a woman, and that church membership
is a more important status-defining attribute for men
[612] than it is for women. Most men's foremost reference group,
outside their own household, is the congregation of their
church, whereas the comparable reference group for most
[591] women is the local kin group. Thus, we find eleven cases
in Motulahi in which, it seems, each spouse has conceded
that which is less important: the couple resides in the
wife's village but are members of the husband's denomination.
(In this regard it is interesting to note that
formal status in the church, such as membership in the
582 *kau malanga*, is not affected by shifts of residence.) I
794 know of only one case, not involving residents of Motulahi,
795 where the couple did not get married because neither of

582 them would agree to give up their religion and the alter-
794 native of their remaining members of different denomina-
795 tions was also not acceptable to them. Doubtless there are other instances of couples who decided not to get married because of denominational differences, but this is not usually the case.

Personal Re-tooling

794 While my data regarding the shifting of denominational
795 affiliation at marriage are fairly scanty, the broad outlines of the phenomenon can be understood with reference to other factors for which there is more substantial evidence. However, the following discussion of 'personal re-tooling' is less solidly grounded, and should be viewed as somewhat tentative.

By 'personal re-tooling' I refer to the fact that, whatever the sincerity of the religious conviction involved, conversion to a different denomination necessarily entails some examination of one's present circumstances (in whatever terms they are defined) and comparison of these circumstances with the prospects that are possible within the new denomination. Whatever else it signifies, therefore, to change one's denominational affiliation implies a decision to involve oneself in a new set of commitments with a new set of fellow-congregants. Moreover, the transfer of denominational affiliation cannot be a gradual process

794 during which one has the opportunity of assessing whether
795 to go through with it, as is the case in shifting *fāmili* membership; switching denominational affiliation is necessarily abrupt and the person must immediately take up activity within the new congregation. For a woman to do this at marriage is something that is virtually expected, and is accepted in the community without negative comment. But conversion as an adult in circumstances other than marriage is a different matter. It is regarded as a choice made for reasons having to do with the person's calculation of instrumental interests, and is not something that is generally approved.

On the basis of my data from Motulahi, it would appear that changing denominational affiliation in personal re-tooling is associated mainly with switching to the Mormon Church. Table 21 depicts the circumstances under which some adults changed their denominational affiliation, and these data suggest that the circumstances associated with switching to the Mormon Church may be different from those relating to other denominations. The table shows that a total of twenty people resident in Motulahi in 1969-70 had converted as adults to another denomination in circumstances other than marriage. In some cases the person was an adult but not yet married, in other cases both husband and wife had been affiliated with the same

794
795

## TABLE 21

## Circumstances of an Adult Changing Denominational Affiliation, Residents of Motulahi 1970, by Sex

| New affiliation | Circumstances of change | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | At marriage | | Other than marriage | | |
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | |
| Mormon Church | 5 | 7 | 12 | 3 | 27 |
| All other denominations | 1 | 23 | 2 | 3 | 29 |
| TOTAL | 6 | 30 | 14 | 6 | 56 |

Source: fieldwork survey and field notes.

794 denomination and switched together to another denomination,
795 in a few instances the husband converted first and the
wife converted later, and in one case a man became a
Mormon while his wife remained a member of the Roman
Catholic Church. Each of these cases, in my view, falls
under the heading of 'personal re-tooling', and three-quarters of these cases involve switching to the Mormon
Church. Moreover, in those cases where there was a change
of denominational affiliation at marriage, while there are
thirty instances of women switching to their husband's
denomination, there are only six instances of a man moving
over to his wife's denomination and five of these cases
involve switching to the Mormon Church. Given what is
involved in being a church member, a man's switching to
his wife's denomination at marriage might also be understood as a decision to re-tool.

For us to understand these data, I submit that
switching to the Mormon Church be viewed as a stratagem
for gaining access to resources and opportunities that are
otherwise not available nowadays or available only with
[461] considerable difficulty. For example, the Mormon Church
is a major employer in Tonga, second only to the government for employment outside teaching, and generally employs
[873] only Mormons. The Mormon Church is also a major source of
scholarships for study abroad, and these are allocated only

794 to those who are Mormons or who have graduated from one
795 of the Mormon schools in Tonga. The most able students
873 are supported at the University of Hawaii. Others are
trained in a wide range of academic and technical
subjects at the Church College of Hawaii (now Brigham
[464] Young University - Hawaii). Graduates find the Church,
both in Tonga and elsewhere, to be a willing employer.
794 Finally, the Mormon Church is a primary avenue of
795 long-term emigration. Indeed, the majority of Tongans
167 who have emigrated to the United States mainland have
done so under the auspices of the Mormon Church. In
summary, membership in the Mormon Church opens up
prospects that are not available to most Tongans.

794 In addition to employment, educational and emigra-
795 tion opportunities, membership in the Mormon Church
183 provides a justification for ceasing to follow certain
patterns of behavior that are associated with anga faka-
[574] Tonga ('Tongan custom'). Mormon congregations, for example,
do not have the feasts that are characteristic of the
Wesleyan churches. Thus members are relieved of the
material burdens and social obligations of congregational
feasting. Members of the Mormon Church also tend not to
[602] engage in communal feasting on other occasions. Indeed,
it is my impression that members of the Mormon Church are
more narrowly involved in kinship reciprocity than members

794 of other denominations. It seems significant in this
795 regard that Mormon doctrines and congregational practices
183 [602] place considerable emphasis on the individual elementary
[594] family. Certainly, there are noticeably fewer multiple-
[592] family households among the Mormons in Motulahi (see
[596] Table 22). This suggests either that Mormon heads of
[554] household do not have the means of supporting more than
their own families, or else that having many dependents is
not the major stratagem of garnering prestige for them
794 that it is for other Tongans. Mormons also tend to be
795 more open than other Tongans in asserting that traditional
183 554 elements of rank and privilege should be eliminated. In
place of the traditional criteria of status and customary
forms of status-behavior, material prosperity and
individual achievement are emphasized. In sum, membership
in the Mormon Church accords with the pursuit of an
individualistic course of upward mobility. However, I am
not claiming that people who convert to the Mormon
religion do so only in order to pursue such a course. My
argument, rather, is that in Tonga an adult's switching
affiliation from one denomination to another is an indication of personal re-tooling, just as moving to a different
village is an indication of re-tooling; each involves a
decision to put oneself in contact with a new set of

## TABLE 22

794
795
592
594
596

## Household Types in Motulahi, 1970, Classed by the Denomination of the Male Head of the Household

| Household type | Male head of household<br>Mormon<br>(N=29)<br>% | <br>Other<br>(N=113)<br>% | Total<br>(N=142)<br>% |
|---|---|---|---|
| Single-family-group household | 76 | 63 | 65 |
| Multiple-family-group household | 24 | 37 | 35 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: fieldwork survey.

794 795 183 554 associates.[11] That being the case, when a change of residence or of denominational affiliation occurs in circumstances other than marriage, some new strategy of achievement may reasonably be inferred.

## Voluntary Associations

571 The data regarding shifting membership in households, _fāmili_, and congregations suggest that Tongan villagers avoid engaging in arrangements that commit them to sustained cooperation over a long period of time. This 312 365 appears to be borne out by the following material. A few years before I came to Tonga, money had been raised in Motulahi to provide a piped deep-well water system for the village, whereas before that people had relied exclusively on stored rain-water and shallow open wells. I found, however, that the piped water system worked only irregularly, owing to ineffective arrangements for priming the pump and clearing blocked pipes. According to my notes, on January 26th 1970 tap water was available in Motulahi for the first time since New Year's Day. Nine days after that, the piped water supply quit again for two

---

[11] In a paper on the phenomenon of denominational diversity in Tonga (Decktor Korn 1977), I argue that the present success of the Mormon Church in attracting new adherents follows the pattern of other churches in previous years, and is best understood as an instance of Tongans' readiness to welcome the possibility of new stratagems.

791
795 Within the major denominations, authority is similarly centralized and concentrated at the top. An exception to this is the Mormon Church, whose structure may be described as "federal", in the image of the mother country of that denomination. Among the Wesleyan denominations, the congregations manage their own internal affairs, but any executive matter that involves inter-congregational relations must be channelled through central committees that operate at the district level or higher. This is exemplified in the following case. The Free Wesleyan Church has a program of inter-congregational visits, where one congregation is assigned to visit another. It is a matter of pride for the visiting congregation to have as many members as possible join in the expedition, and they spend a day or two as guests of members of the host congregation, going as a group from house to house in the village, singing hymns and in general making people aware that the Free Wesleyans were there. In April 1970 the Free Wesleyan congregation at Motulahi was assigned to visit a congregation on the other side of Tongatapu. It so happened, however, that the Free Wesleyans of Motulahi had been engaged for three years in building a new church --working in spurts to accomplish each stage of the building, with lulls in between for raising funds to finance the next stage of construction--and had just

794 reached the stage at which they were ready to pour the 795 concrete for the floor. This was a job that would require members of the congregation to put aside their other activities for about a week. They therefore petitioned the central committee of the Free Wesleyan Church to set aside their assignment to visit the other congregation, and asked the committee to sanction their devoting that time to the church-building project. These requests were channelled up to the central committee through the local minister, who was approached by the steward and other leaders of the congregation asking him to speak to the central committee on behalf of the congregation. While there was no question that the requests would be granted, what I find most interesting is that it was necessary to make these requests and that the leaders of the congregation did not feel that they had the authority to approach the central committee themselves.

621 As the preceding case illustrates, in every village there are a number of local leaders (such as the heads of *fāmili* and the stewards and other leading members of each congregation) whose authority is derived from their position within the local community, but who have little [646] formal authority beyond the community. The low level of [634] authority of local officials is clearly seen also in the roles of the District Officer and Town Officer, who are

623 The noble's brief statement was followed by an even shorter
565 speech by the Town Officer, who added some practical
622 details to what the noble had said. In all, eighteen minutes elapsed from the time that the noble entered the shed where the fono took place until the time that he dismissed the people with the words "Sai, tuku ā (all right, that's all)".

571 As the institution of the fono indicates, the orga-
829 nization of authority in Tonga and the associated ideology are such that those at high levels of authority are not thought to be, nor are they in practice, accountable or
[623] subject to the wishes of those beneath them. This means that formal communication between the central authorities and ordinary people in the villages need only be a one-way process--there is no discussion at the fono nor any legitimate questioning of the directives given.

642
571 The fono is merely one of a number of formal pro-
[623] cedures for communicating from the top down. The Govern-
[646] ment gives people directives through District and Town
[631] Officers and through the fono, makes announcements over
[207] the radio and in the Tonga Chronicle (the national news-
[204] paper, published weekly in Tongan and English editions), and gives official notice in the Government Gazette.
794 Similarly, the churches publish various bulletins and for-
795
571 ward other directives to members through notices to the

571 [794] [795] ministers and stewards of the congregations. All these, however, are one-way channels of communication from the top down, while the ordinary villager has few means of communicating upwards. Ordinary men and women serve as representatives of their congregations at annual meetings [646] of their church. They also participate in electing the People's Representatives in the Legislative Assembly. [642] Besides these measures, there are no formal means of representation for the vast majority of Tongans.

## Processes of National Integration

The description thus far suggests that in Tonga there is only a very steep hierarchy, with little to bridge the gap between ordinary villagers and the central authorities. 602 571 This is not really the case, however, owing primarily to the nature of the Tongan kinship system. Anthropologists have repeatedly noted that people of the highest rank in Tonga are related through ties of kinship with people of all ranks throughout the country, creating a vast communications network through kin ties that reach every village and every household in the country. As Spillius puts it:

> The web of kinship here is such that every well-informed person, every member of Government, every aristocrat, every well-educated commoner or church minister, has hundreds of relatives, all of whom can and do consult him. . . . Even with the presence of all the formal types of communication by Government, by far the greatest volume of communication takes place through the channels of kinship (1960: 18-19).

643 The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua created a similar split in authority,
179 reserving for himself high rank and giving to one of his sons the title
of Tu'i Kanokupolu and the tasks of ruling and collecting tribute. All
three lines descended from Ahoeitu and were further linked by marriage.

Eventually the second line lost status as the power of the Tu'i
[669] Kanokupolu grew. Rivalries among chiefs brought on a series of civil
643 wars. The Tu'i Kanokupolu, Taufa'ahau, was baptised in the Wesleyan
797 Church in 1831 as Siaosi (George) Tupou I and his wife as Salote
(Charlotte). The spiritual power of the Tu'i Tonga was undermined and
643 he became a Catholic. Finally, in the last civil war in 1852, the Tu'i
669 Kanokupolu defeated the Tu'i Tonga and George I became the supreme
[795] ruler in Tonga and Wesleyanism in effect a state religion. The last
Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was slain in battle by the Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1799
and the last Tu'i Tonga died in 1865.

643 The story does not end here. The office holders of the two
554 higher lines were gone, their descendants, however, lived on and their
619 blood rank was higher than that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The Tu'i
[795] Tonga line especially was a force to be reckoned with. They were set
apart not only by higher rank by blood, but also because they followed
the Tu'i Tonga and became Catholic. New titles were created for the
chiefs of the two lines, Tungi replacing Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua and
643 Kalaniuvalu replacing Tu'i Tonga. Frequent intermarriage of the three
619 lines has now made them nearly equal. Thus the present King Taufa'ahau
582
[554]

535 section may be singing only with no *haka*. The second section then
533 relates a story through singing and *haka*. The example given above
535 conforms to this norm, however, not all in my collection do. It may
be that I do not have the entire composition, or that it would be
understood by Tongans that the first part should be included.

The *fa'ahiula* cannot be said to be a living dance type because
no new creations are added to the repertoire today. Few people are
familiar with the *fa'ahiula* and only a very limited number of women
535 perform it. This is in part due to historical circumstances that
● 795 associated this dance, along with the *ula* and *me'etu'upaki*, with the
[643] Tu'i Tonga line of kings, their village Lapaha, and the Catholic
[644] Church. The *fa'ahiula* was preserved and used by the Catholic Church.
Dances of this type were composed using Catholic concepts and performed
at Catholic gatherings.

535 The performance of *fa'ahiula* today is almost exclusively at
794 gatherings of the Catholic Church, for example, at feasts or enter-
tainments for visiting Catholic dignitaries; at the end of year
exercises of the Catholic school; or if either the Catholic school
or the village of Lapaha are requested to dance at a concert enter-
tainment. The girls of the Catholic high school performed a group of
*fa'ahiula* at the end of year ceremonies in 1963 and they were asked to
do them again at an entertainment for the Pan Pacific Women's
Conference in 1964 by Princess Mata'aho who arranged the program.
[872] *Fa'ahiula* are also performed at money raising programs of the Catholic

535 Church either by the girls of the Catholic school who are instructed
[794] by Tongan nuns or by the women of Lapaha.

[872] Perhaps the most knowledgeable exponents of the *fa'ahiula* genre
[538] are Ana Malia and Vaisima Hopoate. Vaisima is one of the few Tongans
to write down dance poetry and both he and his sister, Ana Malia, have
[644] a remarkable memory for *haka*. Their father, Hopoate, who died in 1966
at the age of 80 was a son of a composer of *fa'ahiula*. Hopoate was a
very high chief and a classificatory *tamai*, 'father,' of the late
Queen Salote Tupou III and thus *kui*, 'grandparent,' of the present
King. Hopoate was known as one of the few people who was an authority
on this dance genre.

Another of the few who know the tradition well is Sister Mary 'Okostino, a Tongan nun who was taught by Malia Toto and Kolotele who were said to have performed for the immediate descendants of the last Tu'i Tonga, and who were known for their knowledge of *fa'ahiula* and *ula*. Sister 'Okostino teaches *fa'ahiula* to the girls of the Catholic schools.

643 Finally, it should be noted that *fa'ahiula* are not performed
795 during official government *katoanga*, 'celebrations,' probably because
[541] they are not considered a formal dance genre today and because of the
[595] association with the Tu'i Tonga line of Kings and the Catholic Church.
The official government is presently under the Tu'i Kanokupolu line of
Kings which is associated with Wesleyanism.

535 An innovation seen in *ula* in Tonga was the substitution of the *Si gia* motif (p. 223) performed with both hands simultaneously, instead of M.I.a.2. at the beginning of the *vahe ula*. The *ula* experts, however, are quite contemptuous of the adapted *vahe*. The only 'approved' changes are those of changing the order in which the *ula* motifs are done in the $X^2$ $X^3$ $X^4$ phrases; and the addition of some '*haka*' of the M.I.a.1. paradigm that were not previously used in the *ula*. Some of the '*haka*' were traditionally part of the *ula* and *fa'ahiula*, but in recent times more of these '*haka*' are added to make it more colorful.

535 The *ula* like the *fa'ahiula*, due to historical circumstances, was
644 associated with the Tu'i Tonga, and the Catholic Church. This is,
[795] however, no longer exclusively the case, for a number of women from
[645] Lapaha^A married men from the village of Kolonga and the *ula* is
[582] occasionally done there. Another reason that *ula* is done by 'out-
[794] siders' is that it, along with *fa'ahiula* is taught in Catholic schools
[872] and the students come from many villages. In their own villages it
is easy to do an *ula* because it may be performed by only one or a
535 few women; while the *fa'ahiula* should be done by a large number. It
is not difficult to tell which *ula* performers have grown up with the
[644] tradition. The Lapaha people are still the experts in the tradition, secure in their superiority, although others may perform it. Those who have learned it in school do not know what are the essential features of the *ula* and they carry over features of the *tau'olunga*

A [the Tui Tonga's village--Analyst]

535 643 The *me'etu'upaki* was associated with the Tu'i Tonga, even more strongly than the *ula* and *fa'ahiula*. With changes in the societal [178] structure of Tonga, that resulted in the Tu'i Kanokupolu becoming the ruling dynasty, and the institution of Wesleyanism almost as a State [644] religion, the *me'etu'upaki* fell into disuse. Today it is associated [795] with the Tu'i Tonga line, the Tu'i Tonga's village, Lapaha, and Catholicism. On the rare occasions of its performance, it is done mainly by Lapaha, Tu'i Tonga line, Catholic men. The last such performance is said to have been in 1945 at the 100th anniversary of [872] the birth of George Tupou I. The *me'etu'upaki* today may also be performed by the boys of the Catholic high school at the end of the school year ceremonies. The dance is a difficult one, and it will probably not be many more years before it, too, will be dropped from the extant genres of Tongan dance. (For a more complete treatment of the societal aspects of the *me'etu'upaki*, see Kaeppler 1967b.)

535 We come now to the living Tongan dance genres of which there are three, *lakalaka*, *ma'ulu'ulu*, and *tau'olunga*.

## LAKALAKA

*Lakalaka* is the contemporary dance type presented for formal occasions, whether they be government, church (especially Wesleyan), village, or family. On a government occasion *lakalaka* are performed by 'all' the men and women of a village, which is often over 100. On smaller specialized occasions there may be only about 30 dancers.

535 at an abstract level and summarise them in chart form. Needless to say, these are not hard and fast categories.

The type of dance to be presented depends mainly on occasion of
performance. *Fa'ahiula*, *ula*, and *me'etu'upaki* can be called 'dead
[643] but extant' genres and are performed only on special occasions. Their
[644] performance serves to isolate symbolically the Tu'i Tonga, Lapaha,
[795] Catholic division of the society. Besides celebrations peculiar to
this group of people, the only other time the 'dead but extant' genres
are performed is by special request usually to display the traditional
nature of Tongan dance.

On formal occasions the characteristic dance genre is *lakalaka*. *Lakalaka*, with formal speech making components, functions as a speech, the dancers delivering the speech together. The speech orally pays allegiance to the established socio-political order of Tonga, and visually reflects and sanctions the hierarchical ranking of persons based on social status. On formal occasions *ma'ulu'ulu*, too, may serve this speech making function. Or the performance of a *ma'ulu'ulu* as the initial dance on a formal occasion may serve to '*tafi* the *mala'e*' in preparation for *lakalaka* to follow.

On occasions in which the significant dimension is entertainment the *tau'olunga* dance genre is most frequently used. When *ma'ulu'ulu* are used on such occasions, the entertaining feature derives from the perfect execution of the precise, varied movements.

and females, and may be called the family club in Tonga. Men and women 275
drink side by side, frequent dances and activities are held, and movies are 571
shown for children on some Saturdays and afternoons. No *kava* is served in
any of these clubs and the standard fare is "Fiji Beer" or "Steinlager," scotch 275
and water, gin and tonic, or rum and coke. Alcoholic beverages can also be [276]
purchased for approximately triple the club prices from the various hotels in [279]
the Kingdom.

An intriguing aspect of the Nuku'alofa Yacht and Motor Boat Club was 275
the presence, on numerous occasions, of several Tongans who belonged to 279
Churches whose members were (theoretically) supposed to abstain from 795
drinking alcoholic beverages. Once they entered the club, however, the rules
were changed and they "shouted" drinks with the best of them! When questioned about this seeming inconsistency in their religious beliefs, some Tongans stated that the club was "neutral" territory. This would appear to happen in more than one club as an article pointed out about a political campaign where "just about everything was tried."

> [The Tongan candidate for the Legislative Assembly] approached fellow church-goers in the . . . community but at the same time sported whiskies and Steinlagers at Nuku'alofa bars (Anonymous 1969).[2]

There are numerous *kava* bars throughout the islands of Tonga. In the 275
various *kava* bars, individuals may purchase small coconut shell cups of *kava* which cost a few cents. Just as *kava-palangi* or alcoholic beverages may be purchased in the large stores, *kava Tonga* or small bundles of the root of the *Piper methysticum* may be purchased from the small shops (*fale koloa*, literally "house of riches" or "house of treasure") which are in every village and in Nuku'alofa.

## Significance of Kava Drinking

Lemert has written that "Tongans distinguish three types of *kava* 276
drinking" namely [1] *fai-kava*, or the *kava* drinking of the common people; 574
[2] the *'ilo kava*, the honorific term applied to the kava drinking of the *'eiki*
(high ranking individuals); and [3] the *Taumafa kava*, or the monarch's (or 643
Royal) *kava* ceremony (1967:188). This threefold distinction is too fine and I am in agreement with His Royal Highness Tu'i Pelehake, the Premier of Tonga and His Majesty's brother, who has pointed out that "there are two types of *kava* ceremonies, the ordinary *kava* ceremony and the King's *Kava* Ceremony (*Taumafa kava*)" (1955:48). The ceremony known as *'ilo kava* should be seen as a mediating ceremony between the *fai kava* (informal) and *Taumafa kava* (highly formal) ceremonies. For all essential purposes there are only two types of *kava* ceremonies in Tonga: those in which the reigning ruler

this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has 121
shifted.
276
273

## NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the
Association for Socail Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a 121
Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was 186
conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of
1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major 524
libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in 276
the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the [101]
"Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, [127]
and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should
be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling 275
beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid 273
essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays.
3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973 114. 795
4. Tongans not only presented *kava* roots to important individuals but also took *kava* [527]
roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands
from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan] [656]
Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [*sic.*] island it was
their custom to take large pieces of *kava* for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they 276
used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b).
5. A similar detailed description from Hobos supports the idea of title removal and land 574
distribution at a kava ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took 554
place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Jiosaia] Tubou presided of 113
course as the Tui-kanokubolu. Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and
all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to 276
come and attend before our people and Taufa-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still]
refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL 574
OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE
TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE[N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN 609
THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion; and the principal
things affected by this appointment are as follows: Old Fatu who was the Ist heathen 425
[or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the
Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed 276
Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY 574
THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SEMI AND FOKE as Tuihaamea, because the fortress 684
at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: April 22, 1837).
6. I witnessed a *Taumafa kava* ceremony on the island of 'Eua over the period 558
14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal
part on *H.M.V. Kao*. Enroute to 'Eua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of 651
some four hours, I was fortanate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five 178
minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (on just about
everything under the Tongan sun, including *kava*). Much of my thinking about *kava* 543
has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous 643
discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks. I also took part in numerous kava 123
ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.
7. The *'inasi* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan 115
society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970 134; and 276
Sahlins 1958 24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, 574
agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

651
643
776
782
241
805
[171]
[433]

size and its social and economic functions, Nuku'alofa cannot be 369
regarded merely as an overgrown village. The South Pacific Commission,
recognising the difficulties in defining the term "urban" in the 369
South Pacific area, proposed three characteristics typical of Pacific
urban settlements. A heavier concentration of population, an occupational 171
structure involving a larger proportion in non-agricultural
pursuits, and a form of government suited to the needs of the town.[6]
Nuku'alofa meets the first two characteristics and, by being the 369
centre of all Tongan administration, must be considered as different
from other settlements in Tonga even though it possesses no government 633
peculiar to itself.[7] As the capital of the kingdom it has several
functions different from other towns in Tonga. It is the centre of 369
administration, trade, commerce, church activities, education and
other social services, the main port and the meeting ground for old
and new, Tongan and foreign. Rural migrants form a large part of its [166]
population, its growth rate is much greater than almost all other [162]
settlements, it is considerably larger than any other town, and its [161]
inability to meet the problem of rapid inward migration is beginning
to show in ways similar to urban areas outside Tonga where the same
processes are at work. This is dramatically portrayed in a recent 369
communique:

> "The prison is full and the court overworked. On the 16th of 579
> March more than a hundred young people were involved in violent
> fighting in the streets of Nuku'alofa. Several boys received cane
> knife wounds and over thirty are being charged in a special court
> today."[8]

Thus, while conditions and attitudes appear rural, Nuku'alofa 369
must be classed, by Pacific standards, as an urban settlement. 171

## urban characteristics

361
The emergence of Nuku'alofa as the future capital of Tonga can
be traced from an early association with the Tu'i Kanokupolu line of [643]
high chiefs.* Later, during the period of civil wars (1799-1845),
the previously dispersed Tongan settlements became nucleated villages
for reasons of defence.[9] Subsequently the settlement became the main [795]
centre of Wesleyan Christianity and was chosen by the victorious
Taufa'ahau (now King George I) as his permanent place of residence. [643]
It was from this time that the new village of Kolofo'ou (new town)
emerged as the settlement of the king's followers, as distinct from
the adjacent older settlement of Nuku'alofa which now assumed the name
Kolomotu'a or old town. Ma'ufanga, the third distinct area of

---

* See glossary for all Tongan words used in text.

## Religion and Society

795 [797] Western religion was established in Tonga by missionaries of the
Wesleyan Methodist Church in the 19th Century and today most Tongans
are members of churches having origins in the Wesleyan sect. The Free
Wesleyan, the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga all had their
beginnings in the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Table 4 gives the member-
795 ship by denomination of Tongans in 1966.[A] Although Tonga has been a
797 Christian nation for over a century, proselytizers from various denominations still find it fertile ground for the winning of new converts. Fortunately, Tongans find it relatively easy to alter their denominational preference (See also Beaglehole 1941: 127-130).

795 554 Christianity and the social life of Tonga are inextricably wound together in such a way that position in the church is highly associated with social position. A Togan expressed some of the relationship between Church and society in the passages below:

> [793] In the bigger churches the average number of local preachers is about twenty, and in the smaller ones it could be ten in each church. The position of local preacher in Tonga has bycome a symbol of good christian in the church, and also bycomes a social status in the society and it seems that every layman wanted to be a local preacher...The King is almost a
> [643] god to so many people. I often hear some of our leading ministers use phrases like these, 'the church of Tupou', "the land of Tupou", 'the ministry of Tupou' (instead of the Gospel). I know a group of evangelists when they went out to conduct a mission in some of the villages, they said, "We come in the name of Tupou". These sorts of nonsense is not a teaching of the King or the Nobles directly, there is no need for them to say that, because it is already deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of the Tongans, on the other hand they don't stop them because it makes them feel more comfortable (Anonymous 1970).

[A] [See p. 23--Analyst]

## TABLE 4

### Religious Denominations for Tongan Population 1966*

795
162

| Denomination | Frequency | Frequency in Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Free Wesleyan | 38,147 | 50 |
| Roman Catholic | 12,042 | 16 |
| Free Church of Tonga | 11,006 | 15 |
| Church of Tonga | 6,936 | 9 |
| Latter Day Saints | 5,344 | 7 |
| Seven Day Adventist | 1,358 | 2 |
| Church of England | 697 | 1 |
| Total | 75,530 | 100 |

* Adapted from Table B, page 24 of Report on the Results of the 1966 Census.

621 565 close kinsmen of lower rank or by their chief's assistant.

621 571 565 Villagers see their relationship to the noble in terms of mutual reciprocity. It is the noble's duty to the people to provide them with land, and in turn they should support him materially and socially. The village men have an obligation to provide the noble with first fruits, assist him in his feasting obligations, and obey his directives concerning village affairs.

565 554 The title associated with the estate surrounding Puke is Fohe, one of the seven titles in Ha'a Havea (See Kaeppler 1971: 136).[2] A The chief's assistant for Feke, 'octopus', and his primary duty is acting as orator for Fohe on feast occasions and kava ceremonies. However, the man who presently holds the title Feke seldom chooses to perform his duties as matāpule, so the position is usually filled by a man affinally related to Fohe.

794 795 Because Puke has only one church, the Wesleyan Methodist, and all persons in the village except the members of one household belong to that congregation, the office of church steward is, in effect, a position with a village-wide constituency. The church steward is appointed 794 by the central church administration. Church stewards usually lack the qualifications of an ordained minister but have positions as lay ministers and undergo some religious training at a local Bible college.

The duties of the church steward are the maintenance of church records, the organizing of church activities, and the care of the church itself. The church steward at Puke is also the choir leader, takes an active role in village affairs, and acts as an advisor in many situa-

A.[For footnote, see p.122--Analyst]

794 tions because of his prestige and relatively high educational attainments.

554 The men holding these leadership positions work their gardens, fish, and generally perform the tasks befitting all men of their ages. There are no special insignias that indicate position within the community, but high rank is evidenced in the order of seating at any formal occasion such as feasts or kava ceremonies.

## The Village Church: A Focus of Village Life

794 626 (795) As mentioned earlier all persons in Puke are members of the Free Wesleyan Church except for the members of one household. The social pressure on this nonconforming family is sufficient to force its participation in the Free Wesleyan Church as well as in the church of their choice, the Church of Tonga. They participate in the village church by contributing an equitable share in money and goods and by taking part in some of the less formal church activities such as choir. Strong denominational preference by the villagers is reinforced by strong pronouncements by village leadership indicating that persons of other denominations are unwelcome and unlikely to receive land on the noble's estate.

794 183 554 (626) Frequent church attendance, generous financial support and position within the church are regarded by Tongans as the marks of a "good man". There are social and economic rewards for the man who meets these criteria; and for the man who does not there awaits gossip and social censure. For instance, an individual's relationship with the church may determine whether or not he receives land, whether or not he is re-

159 carry the saucepan and its contents to his own house. Sione lifts the saucepan
and sets off, but suddenly he feels very sad because he sees that the saucepan
is filled with filth, feces, and disease. He is disgusted with Pili for making
him carry all this filth to his own house.

[828] Sione had no interpretation of this dream to offer, nor am I able to give
[154] any specific meaning to the actual incidents reported. The equating of money
436 with feces is, of course, of particular interest. Money is a valued object in
434 Pangai today—hard to get except by the back-breaking labor of copra making,
and much green copra is needed to earn a single shilling. At the same time,
although a man may gain enough food for himself and his family by hard
work in his bush plantation, nevertheless a minimum amount of money (which
seems large to a Tongan villager) is absolutely necessary for piece goods for
clothing, for kerosene, fishhooks, certain desirable European foods, and tobacco.
Money for the Tongan is not yet a symbol of power, but it is still a
154 fundamental necessity which is hard to acquire and easy to spend. With this
attitude toward money, it is perhaps understandable that there should occur in
this Tongan dream an identification similar to identifications that occur in
our own society.[7]

154 Of the dreams that we collected, however, the large majority seem to be
motivated by emotional conflicts over religious matters, usually anxieties over
771 schismatic differences between the various Christian churches in Tonga. In
795 the village of Pangai there are today three religious groups professing Wesleyan
Christianity (Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Free Church of Tonga,
Church of Tonga) and a Roman Catholic group as well. Members of the Latter
Day Saints Church are found in a near-by township, and one at least of the
men of Pangai professed to be a Seventh-Day Adventist—all these in a village
771 of about 270 people. Moreover, religion for the villagers is not something
merely for Sunday observance; it is a real life-and-death matter, involving
prayer services on most week days, and, because church law is in many
aspects of conduct identical with secular law, religious influences permeate
through to every nook and corner of contemporary Tongan culture. More
than any other set of values, religious values are today providing the cement
that gives a significant integration to Tongan society—thus doubtless playing
[178] a role that was formerly filled by aboriginal Tongan religion. Chang in religious
ideology, has occurred, but it is largely a mere variation (god substitutions,
tapu substitution, etc.) on a fundamental pattern that today, as formerly,
provides a cohesive force in Tongan life. By this I mean to stress the
[154] fact that the Pangai villager takes his religion seriously. It vitally affects both
his living and his dying in such a fashion that it is not surprising for psychic
stress to be formulated in religious terms and symbols.

[154] The following dream, for example, suggests a phrasing of adolescent love
interest in religious terms:

159 *Case 8.*—A dream of Ana, unmarried girl of 16 years. She dreamed she was
walking down the village road and came to a place where the road branched.
One road was narrow and dark. The other road was smooth, bright, and well

---

[113] [7] See Ernest Beaglehole, *Property* (New York, 1932), pp. 266–272. Seligman in his paper on "Temperament, Conflict, and Psychosis in a Stone Age Population" (*Brit. Jour. Med. Psych.*, Vol. 9, 1929, p. 196) gives the case of a native of Massim, New Guinea, who had been serving as a store boy and suffering from delusions of grandeur in which he equated money with feces. Also, it may be noted that apart from brief maniacal attacks, Seligman (*op. cit.*, p. 195) is of the opinion that psychoses do not occur among New Guinea natives except as the result of stresses set up by white influence—a point of observation which, if true, would tend to support the theoretical position outlined in the present paper.

85: Raven-Hart G,R-3 (no date) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u

125 c(D) | (E):A:A | B:C:A | B:C:A | B:C:C(D) | (E):A:A | B:C:A | B:C:C | C:–. It should however be added that no words were given with the tune, and that a wordless 533 tune is a mere ghost of a melody for most "Trinesians," so that the test was hardly 177 a fair one. A similar test made in Fiji, with words extemporized, was far more [171] successful, and is dealt with in the paper mentioned in the Bibliography.

(13) A considerable amount of music is being composed in Tonga to-day, showing 533 strong Western influence. In Thomson's time, their songs were "boating-songs, 177 odes to Nature or to flowers, or laments, but never love-songs." To-day the favoured subjects are patriotic ditties, love-songs, and songs to Nature, in that order.

When harmonized by the composer, as a rule the alto and tenor parts tend to follow the melody, rarely striking out any melodic line of their own: very frequently the alto is merely a succession of thirds below the melody, as in the example D, and, as Thomson wrote, "A procession of consecutive fifths seems to afford them peculiar delight." The bass is the important part, and is often given a series of duologues with the other three parts combined. These points were well illustrated in a recent choral composition set as a test-piece (far more suitably than foreign music) for the singing competition already mentioned.

The favouritism shown to the basses is justified by their excellence, both in quality and range; one bass complained to me that he could sing "only" two octaves really well, from middle C down; another happily produced *four* octaves, from A below the bass clef upwards, with a very smooth transition to a strikingly pure [534] falsetto. Favouritism is also shown in the hymn-singing, many of the tunes being pitched somewhat high for the sake of the basses; there are, Heaven be praised, no organs or other instruments in Tongan churches, and the choirmaster has merely a pitch-pipe to guide him. It is most sincerely to be hoped that no false ideas of progress, no pseudo-sophistication, may bring in organs or bands to spoil what is undoubtedly the best part-singing in the Pacific.

Another "progress" threatened is the production of a tune-book in the numerical sol-fa notation, especially undesirable should it merely transcribe from the Western hymn books the "correct" tunes and harmonies; if so, it is to be hoped that Tongan musical obstinacy will be able to ignore these in favour of their own traditional variants.

*Postscript.*—The suspected original for the first tune to "Tau mai ya" is the plainsong "Tonus Peregrinus," used for Psalm 114 ("In exitu Israel") only, and [795] adapted also as an Anglican chant for this psalm. But there is no Anglican church on Vava'u, nor is this plainsong used in the Roman Catholic church there—and at most it could be heard once a month only.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Andersen, J. C.: "Maori Music," *Polynesian Society Memoir* 10, Wellington 1934.
*Famous Maori Songs.* (Beggs, Auckland 1940.) The accompaniments are purely Western, and there is a strong Western Influence in the melodies, but some "level" endings occur, and several with the descending scale.

Burrows, E. G.: *Native Music of the Tuamotus* (Bishop Museum Bulletin 109), Honolulu 1933; and "Songs of Uvea and Futuna," *op. cit.* 183, Honolulu 1945. Of exceptional value in that not only are primitive tunes given but also "hybrids" showing Western influence.

**EDUCATION.** Primary education is free and compulsory to the age of 14 years, and the number of illiterate Tongans is very small. There are 73 Government Primary Schools with an enrolment of 3,016, and 40 Primary Schools controlled by the various Missions with an enrolment of 2,958. Provision is made for the secondary education of boys by the Government and the Free Wesleyan Church and Roman Catholic Church, and for that of girls by these two Missions only. In recent years arrangements have been made by the Government for the training of medical students at the Central Medical School, Fiji, and also for higher education on scholarships in Australia. 871 [872] [162] [873] [562] [874]

**RELIGION.** Government statistics (1931) show the following :—Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga 16,711 ; Free Church of Tonga 4,679 ; Church of Tonga 2,771 ; Roman Catholic Church 3,340 ; Church of England 311 ; Latter Day Saints 728 ; Seventh Day Adventists 232. 795 162

## THE GOVERNMENT OF TONGA, LAW COURTS, ETC. 642

As defined by the Constitution of 1875, Tonga is a limited monarchy following the English system, and the government consists of (1) The Sovereign and the Privy Council, (2) The Cabinet, (3) The Parliament (Legislative Assembly).

**THE PRIVY COUNCIL** advises the Sovereign on affairs of State and makes ordinances in the interval between Parliaments ; these ordinances become laws if the following Parliament confirms them. Another very important duty of the Privy Council is that of preparing the Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the following year. Using the information supplied by the various Departments, the Privy Council calculates how much money it expects to receive from taxation, etc., and how much money may be spent in each Department in the following year. Having drawn up these Estimates, the Privy Council sends them to the Consul who has the right of veto over the expenditure of the Tonga Government, and, finally, they are sent to Parliament for approval. At present the members of the Privy Council are :—The Sovereign (President), the Speaker of Parliament (Vice-President), the Premier, the Minister of Lands, the Minister of Police, the Governors of Vava'u and Ha'abai, and two European members, the Chief Justice and the Treasurer. Members of the Privy Council are appointed by the Sovereign. 645 671

**THE CABINET** consists of the members of the Privy Council, except the Sovereign and the Speaker of Parliament. The Premier is the chairman of the Cabinet, which is really a committee of the Parliament to control the property of the Government, to make appointments to the Public Service, and to transact such matters as deciding the terms on which leases of land may be granted. [647] [423]

**PARLIAMENT** meets each year about the end of June, its session lasting about one month. Its members are :—The Speaker and members of the Cabinet, seven nobles elected by the 33 nobles of the Kingdom, and seven representatives elected by male taxpayers 21 years and over. Three of these representatives are elected by Togatabu and the two Niuas, two by Ha'abai, and two by Vava'u, and the seven nobles represent the nobles of those districts in the same proportion. Each section of the 646

175 visit in 1793, a period of civil war between various high
669 chiefs throughout the archipelago prevailed from 1799 until
721 1852 (Wood, 1945:29-54).

797 The "missionary period", which essentially began with
669 the arrival of the first successful missionaries (John
721 Thomas, John Hutchinson and two Tahitians, Habe and Tafeta,
in 1825), overlapped the latter part of this period of civil
721 disorder. Between 1826 and 1852, the warfare in Tonga in-
669 volved struggles for political and religious influence bet-
798 ween heathen (often aided by Catholics) and Protestant
795 Christian factions. The final war in 1852, established the
642 dominance of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line and of Christianity
643 over the entire archipelago. When Tu'i Laufilitonga (of the
[797] Tu'i Kanokupolu line) died in 1865, George Tupou I became
the political, military, and religious ruler of Tonga.
642 According to Maude (1965:35), the political stability crea-
648 ted by the unification of the Kingdom under Tupou I, was
182 probably the main reason Tonga was able to retain its inde-
pendent status when other Pacific Islands Kingdoms were
falling under the sovereignty of European powers.

797 During Tupou I's reign, the Wesleyan Mission maintained
642 considerable influence in Tongan politics. As early as 1839,
[643] Tupou I (then known as Taufa'ahau) had drawn up a code of
laws for Vava'u. This code was revised in 1852 to pertain
to the entire Tongan archipelago and further developed, with
assistance of the Revernd Shirley Baker, into the "Consti-

177 convicts also increased the Tongans' knowledge of the
European culture. These visitors searching for whales,
sandalwood, turtle shell, bêche-de-mer, cheap labor, and
adventure, introduced new diseases, alcohol, and firearms.

177 The impact of missionary societies effectively began in
797 1826 and was dominated by the Methodist or Wesleyan Mission
[795] although Catholic, Anglican, Seventh Day Adventist and,
more recently, the Morman missions have also had consider-
[241] able influence. Tongans have been nominally converted to
Christianity; an education system was founded; there has
been considerable missionary influence politically; and new
agricultural technology such as sprinkler irrigation and new
varieties of peanuts, bananas, garden vegetables, and other
crops have been introduced through missionary societies.

177 During the latter half of the nineteenth century, resi-
439 dent traders and large trading concerns, such as J.C.
Godeffroy and Son, came to Tonga for such products as coco-
177 nut oil and bêche-de-mer (Robson, 1946:63). European
241 settlers and trading companies, such as the successor to
439 Godeffroy and Son, the D.H.P.G. (Deutsche, Handels-und
Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Sudsee-Inseln zu Hamburg),
[423] obtained leasehold rights to land and developed plantation
agriculture around copra, cotton, coffee, and livestock. A
number of these large-scale plantations still exist, and
European technology and the cultivation of export crops have
remained an integral part of Tongan agriculture.

554
565 powerful socially and politically than the traditional
645
646 nobility.

On the village level, government is through town
622 officers ('ofisa kolo) and district officers(pule fakavahe),
[634] who are elected by the people. The 'ofisa kolo acts as the
mouthpiece of the central government and calls periodic
meetings (fono)to dictate government policy. His main
functions are to help in the distribution of land, to
collect taxes and water payments, and generally represent
634 the government. The pule fakavahe has similar responsibilities over a district consisting of a number of
villages.

795 Of considerably more social importance than the government, is the church, which is the primary focus of the
Tongan society. The official state religion is Free
Wesleyan or Methodist, of which approximately fifty percent
of all Tongans claim membership. Other important religious
denominations include Roman Catholic, Free Church of Tonga,
Church of Tonga, Seventh Day Adventists, Church of England,
and the Church of the Latter Day Saints (which is presently
794 the fastest growing denomination). The social focus of
621 most villages is on church activities: prayer meetings,
youth clubs, Sunday schools, choir practices, and sermons.
795 Each denomination has its own hierarchy of leadership, and
social status. Much of the churches' financial support, as
795
434 well as support in kind for ministers, teachers, and other

795 church officials comes directly or indirectly from the
434 agricultural system. It is not uncommon for a family to
give more than fifty percent of its annual income to
support the church.

871 An increasingly important focus of Tongan society is
178 on formal education. In many cases, the *tangata poto* (the
555 wise or educated man) is considered almost on par with
554 traditional leadership and has been able to ascend to
positions of power and prestige within Tongan government
871 and society. Villages and families play a major role in
supporting church, government, and private schools through
875 fees or by providing labor and produce. Teachers,
554 especially headmasters, are becoming increasingly influ-
178 ential personalities in the contemporary society.

621 Divisiveness is sometimes brought about by diverse
[578] religious affiliations within a village, but usually the
spirit of neighborliness within a given village, especially
a small one, makes it a viable social unit. In the past
more villages were comprised of members of the same *kainga*,
*matakali* or even *ha'a*. At present, however, most villages
are comprised of individuals of many different families,
lineages, and religious denominations, but there is still
a feeling of "oneness" and the concept of neighborliness or
*feitokoni'aki* (helping one another) within the village and
622 among affiliates of a common landlord. Traditionally,
178 village leadership was in the hands of the noble. At
565

443 market. Exchange is generally on a cash basis. [illegible]

438 The market is open every day except Sunday, Saturday
[436] having the heaviest trading. On one Saturday, an estimated
350 sellers were present and approximately 2,000 buyers, who
443 purchased about $T3,000 worth of produce. Inzluding non-
buyers and socializers, people present may have totalled as
many as 5,000 or approximately ten percent of Tongatapu's
443 population. A great variety of agricultural products are
438 sold at the market (Table 27). Some items such as rhubarb,
[244] okra, parsley,and certain varieties of squash are marketed
[241] solely by well-organized truck gardening operations,
[795] including the Mormon Church, but most items are grown
primarily on bush or town allotments. Most sellers are part-
443 time or target marketers, who sell only when they have
surplus agricultural products or are in need of cash for a
[441] specific purpose. The balance of the sellers, no more than
25 percent, are either representatives of co-operative
societies and missionary societies or middlemen who buy
products from individual farmers and serve as retailers.

443 In short, the market is: 1) a source of cash for rural people;
438 (90 percent of the sellers in the market during a study on
January 22, 1972, were from outside Nuku'alofa); 2) an
important food source for the increasing urban/non-agrarian
population of Nuku'alofa (approximately 85 percent of the
food purchased was purchased by consumers in the Nuku'alofa
area); 3) an important source of firewood, Tongan medicine,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 174]

[1827-1829]

the *koka* tree at Hihifo where every Tu'i Kanokupolu had been installed. At Nuku'alofa Turner held services in his own house or out-of-doors until Aleamotu'a felt sufficiently confident to defy the chiefs and resume public worship. Some services were held on the open space *(mala'e)* facing the beach, and it was here that Taufa'ahau, on a visit from Ha'apai, heard Turner preach. 797 643

During the unsettlement of this period, when Aleamotu'a was not worshipping, the missionaries' lives and property were in danger. The non-Christian chiefs sent a message that Turner and Cross would be killed unless they went away.(20) Aleamotu'a sent armed guards to the mission house to protect the occupants. At one stage Aleamotu'a considered removing to Ha'apai, or even Samoa or Fiji, and taking the missionaries with him. He called on those who were of this mind to board his canoe, and added, "All you who love the devil, sit still"; all the people on the beach decided that they would go with Aleamotu'a.(21) Afterwards he found there was no need to leave. When, on 1 June 1828, after six months' abstention, Aleamotu'a attended worship again, hundreds of people came to the service. [609]

While these events were transpiring at Nuku'alofa John Thomas was toiling on at Hihifo. After three years he could report only three "members on trial". He had laboured hard against the relentless opposition of Ata who would not permit Thomas even to visit the sick and the dying. Yet the coming of Turner and Cross had given flashes of new hope to Thomas for, on 25 June 1828, he wrote, 797 [609]

> "If Tonga" (= Tongatapu) "becomes Christianized we have good reason to believe that not only the Ha'apais and Vava'u will receive the truth but we shall obtain success in Fiji and the Navigators' Islands" (= Samoa). "Here are men from each of the latter and the Tongan canoes go to these islands." (22)

The District Meeting on 28 September 1828 recommended the Committee to set up new stations at Ha'apai and Vava'u. The Meeting resolved that Hutchinson was "unlikely ever to become an efficient missionary in Tonga"; both he and Weiss had already returned to Australia.(23)

At length John Thomas had a convert and this made a deep impression upon his ministry. Lolohea was a son of the chief, Tupouniua, murdered in 1807; his mother had become one of Ata's wives. Lolohea, then about twenty-three years old, was sickening to death when he began to receive Thomas's ministrations, without Ata's prohibition. On Friday, 9 January 1829, three days before his death, Lolohea was baptized, with the name John. Lolohea's mother with a few non-Christians, together with 'Ulakai and some worshippers from Nuku'alofa, were present at the baptism. [795]

The work of Turner and Cross in Nuku'alofa, meanwhile, was meeting with mounting success. On 4 January 1829, fourteen months after they had commenced their work, they baptized seven converts. All seven became preachers, the most notable being Peter Vi, the first Tongan teacher in Nuku'alofa, Turner's assistant in translation work, and the first evangelist in Ha'apai. The others were Noah (Mafile'o), Moses (Fakanou), Elisha (Lauola), Barnabas (Kavamoelelo), Joseph (Lavemui) and John (Mo'ungaevalu).(24) Turner states that these baptisms took place on 4 January, "shortly after" Lolohea's baptism at Hihifo; but John Thomas recorded this as occurring on 9 January. There is some confusion here about dates; possibly Lolohea's baptism may have been the first, but the baptisms in Nuku'alofa, as Turner said, were "the first public baptismal services in Nuku'alofa". 797 795

[1829]

The missionaries regarded these seven men as "the first fruits of the Gospel" in 797
Tonga.(25) A short catechism had been compiled a few weeks before this event, 795
and the catechumens repeated the answers before the congregation at their baptism.
On 29 March 1829 Aleamotu'a's wife, Moala, was baptized and named Mary.
Four other women were baptized with her.

When children of parents already baptized were brought, Turner set apart those below eight years and treated those above eight as adults who entered a class for instruction. It was Turner's practice to baptize candidates by sprinkling as they knelt around the communion table. He gave them biblical names as well as agreeing to their retaining their Tongan names. Incidentally, John Williams, while commenting very favourably on Turner's work during his visit to Nuku'alofa in 1830, criticized the giving of biblical names. However, it became standard practice in the Tongan Wesleyan Church. It was also the custom for baptized persons to sit under and around the pulpit, apart from the rest of the congregation.

Eleven more were baptized on 9 April 1829 when the congregation numbered [794]
nearly 500, Turner reported. By April 1829 Turner had completed the first 797
Scripture lessons, catechism, and some hymns, and had sent these to Sydney to
be printed. He had also translated the marriage service from the Prayer Book, [585]
and on 3 May the first Christian wedding service was held. On 24 May there [764]
was the first Christian burial, for an old convert named Job, so named because
of his patience in prolonged illness. On Whitsunday, 7 June 1829, the first [788]
Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in which Tongans participated was observed.
There were twenty-six Tongan communicants.

The District Meeting, on 23 June 1829, reported 31 full members, with [794]
90 on trial. It asked the Committee for two additional missionaries, one with
medical knowledge, the other with printing experience; and a printing press was
requested.(26)

By 25 June, William Cross had produced summaries of Old Testament and
New Testament narratives, and had translated the Acts of the Apostles to chapter
eleven — a remarkable feat in about eighteen months. Cross and Turner reported [871]
to the Committee that there were 495 in the schools and that [212]

> "many of the people can read with fluency and write in such a way as would astonish you."

They added two significant comments:

> "The great and good work which the Lord is doing among us here is almost incredible to ourselves who are eye and ear witnesses to the facts. . . . And we enjoy perfect harmony among ourselves."

The "Lovefeast" was a treasured Wesleyan ordinance in which worshippers gave testimonies, and the first of these was held on 11 October 1829. About forty, including Aleamotu'a and his consort, spoke on this occasion.

At the District Meeting on 31 December 1829, is was decided that a man
and woman living together should be married before they were baptized, and
that candidates for baptism should meet "in class" for at least three months and,
after baptism, spend three months "on trial" before full membership. The wise
direction of the Chairman could be seen in these rules. It was also reported that [794]
there were 72 full members, with 23 others baptized but not yet full members, [795]
123 others on trial, and that there were 478 scholars in four schools, at [871]
Nuku'alofa, Hofoa, Havelu, and Fanga.(27)

[1828-1830]

Aleamotu'a was baptized on 10 January 1830 in the presence of a congrega- 797
tion of 600. He took the name of Josiah, and the missionaries generally referred 643
to him afterwards as Josiah Tupou or King Josiah. He had supported, first the [795]
Tahitian teachers and then the Wesleyan missionaries, wavering only temporarily [794]
and under strong pressure. His three sons and two daughters were baptized at
the same service. On the afternoon of that day, Turner wrote,

> "A man who had been a magician or a kind of god and of so high a rank that the king used to pray to him was baptized; so in the same day we have baptized both the king and his god." (28)

After Aleamotu'a was baptized he was married to his chosen wife, Mary, who had become a class-leader and had taken charge of the Sunday School in Nuku'alofa.(29)

Nuku'alofa, with its daily teaching and well-attended regular worship, had 797
become an orderly Christian community. Every Sunday was filled with services [796]
and teaching: 5 a.m., prayer meeting; 8 a.m., children's catechizing; 9 a.m.,
worship; 3 p.m., worship; evening, English service (for mission families and any
visiting sailors). During the week the missionaries supervised the day schools,
conducted classes for catechumens and others for full members, and held a
mid-week service (Wednesday) and prayer-meeting (Friday). They were also
occupied with translation work, dispensing medicine, making pastoral visits to the
sick and to outlying villages. On 31 March 1830 Cross sent to the Committee [212]
in London specimens of the handwriting and composition of Mary, wife of
Aleamotu'a. and others. These may be the first sentences in Tongan still in
existence; they are preserved in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.(30)

The change in the people's attitude was receiving favourable comments from visiting sea-captains. Captain Hardy, *Snapper*, who used to avoid Tongan anchorages because of the people's reputation for deceit, robbery and violence, reported on the difference when he came on 22 September 1828. Commodore Lawes, H.M.S. *Satellite*, in May 1829, expressed astonishment at the progress the people at Nuku'alofa had made in reading after only a short time. The wrecked whaler, *L'Aigle*, received unexpected hospitality from Aleamotu'a and his people in March 1830. On the other hand, the sailors of some ships cursed the missionaries because they had forbidden women at Nuku'alofa to go on board the visiting vessels.

The chapel built for the Tahitian teachers in 1826 had proved far too small.
On 5 May 1830 Turner reported the beginning of the construction of a new [368]
chapel "on the hill where the old fortress stood in Mariner's time", the hill to
become famous in Tongan Church history as Zion. On 3 September it was [794]
opened, with about 1,000 attempting to crowd into the building and nearly as
many others outside. Turner described the efforts of some to appear in European [291]
clothing, the women with "gowns and bonnets. The bonnets were entirely of their [177]
own manufacture, under the direction of Mary, the excellent wife of Tupou".
Though Turner wrote this with some satisfaction, he added that the appearance
of many could only "excite a smile". Another quaint reference was to Thomas
Wright, Lawry's old servant who had returned with John Thomas, and who now
conducted the singing in Zion "although he does not understand music"! (31)

Nuku'alofa had formerly been a fortress. Its new importance arose not only [361]
because of its convenience as a port but as the centre of the new religion in [504]
Tongatapu. It is also noteworthy that Turner and Cross had commenced preaching

[1830 -1834]

promptly gave Taufa'ahau an emetic which had the desired effect. Prayers were 643
offered all night for his recovery. 622

> "No Christian slept that night. As daylight appeared a wailing cry was heard. At first we thought the king was gone but we soon learnt that it was a cry of joy from the king's sister because the king was better. . . . From that time Christianity spread and increased in strength while the kingdom of the devil became weaker and weaker" (so declared Peter Vi).(9)

Although the main opposition to the spread of Christianity came from 797
factions within Tonga itself, there were also white renegades who gave trouble. 563
Several of these had settled at Vava'u. One of them who came with Finau to the festival, named Thomas Harris, abused Thomas publicly at the island of Ha'ano (north of Lifuka). These men were trying to persuade Tongans not to follow the missionaries' teachings. Relief came opportunely from the senior naval officer in the Pacific, Captain the Honourable William Waldegrave, H.M.S. *Seringapatam.* He called at Vava'u and removed five white men who had been maligning the missionaries and opposing their work. Such an action may seem arbitrary, but not so at that time and with the type of whites concerned. John Thomas in Ha'apai expressed warm appreciation of the captain's action. Captain Waldegrave gave as a reason for removing these men the harm they were doing to England's reputation among the islanders.(10)

On 5 August 1830 Thomas reported that from 1000 to 1500 people in the 797
Ha'apai group had "embraced Christianity and are open to instruction", and 794
also a few had come from Vava'u for this purpose.(11) In November 1830 there
were 170 in his class and 150 females in his wife's afternoon class, at Lifuka. [781]
The number professing Christianity in the Ha'apai group had then risen to 1800.

Taufa'ahau delayed his baptism until 7 August 1831. On the day before 797
this event there was a feast, with nineteen fat hogs and several hundred yams. At 643
the service more than 2000 were present, the majority outside the chapel. 795
Taufa'ahau had begun "meeting in class" as a "member on trial" in November 1830. Three of his children were baptized together with him, all kneeling in front of the pulpit; the children were Salote, then seven years old, and David and Josiah, the latter only 1½ years old. Taufa'ahau told the congregation,

> "A short time ago I was living in a very wicked way and served the devil with all my might. . . . I now come to give myself and these my children, body and soul, to the Lord Jesus and to be baptized in His Holy Name." (12)

The chief took the name George, from George III of England, whose name [551]
had been venerated in Tonga since the visit of Captain Cook. Thenceforward Taufa'ahau was generally referred to as King George by the missionaries. The large and bold handwriting in recording the baptism of "George Taufa'ahau, King in Lifuka" (sic) seemed to indicate John Thomas's recognition of this important event.

Taufa'ahau was not only certain of his own faith, but on the day of his 797
baptism he called upon his people to live consistently with their profession as
true Christians. Some time elapsed before he became a local preacher, in 1834, 643
and when this happened he insisted on wearing European clothes whenever he 794
occupied the pulpit; this showed his desire to resemble the missionaries in [291]
outward garb. He asked to be given preaching appointments to various villages [177]
in the same way as other local preachers. He proved eloquent and effective. When he prayed at the conclusion of a service the feelings of the congregation were

aroused as his own voice rose and there were audible and emphatic responses 797
from the people. Once, when another local preacher declared, "The Gospel saved 643
me. Did it save anyone else here?", the king instantly jumped to his feet and 794
called out, "Glory to God, it saved me" — an indication of how demonstrative
he was in avowing his faith in these early days.

The wife whom Taufa'ahau chose from those he had kept in a polygamous 797
state was Lupe Pau'u, the bride he had taken from Laufilitonga who was now 644
the Tu'i Tonga. Afterwards she took the name Salote when she was baptized on 795
27 September 1834 by James Watkin.(13) The name Salote was taken from Queen 551
Charlotte, the consort of George III. Not only did the wife and a daughter of
Taufa'ahau take this name but also the illustrious great-great-grand-daughter of
Taufa'ahau, Queen Salote Tupou III (1900-65). The marriage of George and [585]
Charlotte according to Christian rites did not take place until 1834.(14)

After nearly two years in Ha'apai Thomas returned to Nuku'alofa to become 797
Chairman of the District following the departure of Nathaniel Turner. He had
now gained confidence through his success in Ha'apai. There was a ringing note
of hope in his reports:—

> "We have good reason to believe that Tonga will be a key to very many islands in these seas. The Tongan people have been famous in the sight of the islands of these seas for ages past." (15)

The new missionaries, James Watkin and Peter Turner, continued to supervise
the mass evangelization of the Ha'apai group, according to the model of their
predecessor. Peter Turner in his Journal referred to the school at Lifuka
beginning daily at 6 a.m. He described the baptisms, with sometimes as many [795]
as 100 received at one service. He noted the Tongans' fastidiousness about their [181]
appearance as seen in the care taken with special clothing for the baptismal [291]
service, the variety of patterns in the native cloth *(ngatu)*, and the neat plaiting
of the mats worn around the waist. Then he added, "What joy beamed on the
faces of the persons baptized".(16)

An unusual incident occurred at 'Uiha in June 1832. The schooner *Snapper* 177
came to the group for trading. First it called at Lifuka where the owner, Robson,
was given hospitality by the missionaries, Watkin and Turner, although he was
very critical of missions. The crew of *Snapper* tried to entice women aboard and
were annoyed with the missionaries when they failed. The vessel then went to
'Uiha, the only island in Ha'apai that had not then accepted Christianity;
Taufa'ahau warned the captain not to go to 'Uiha but the owner said it would
be easier to have trading dealings with the non-Christians there. A quarrel broke 177
out when the owner endeavoured to procure a large pot used by whalers. The 439
'Uiha people had obtained it from a ship wrecked near Tongatapu about fifteen 609
years before. While the argument about this deal was proceeding the chief Malupo
was induced to go on board the *Snapper*. There he was bound, in order to force
the people to come to terms and secure his release. The vessel threatened to sail
off with the chief unless the pot was brought but it remained at anchor a short
distance from the shore to do more trading. (It was noted afterwards by the
Christian converts at Lifuka that all this was happening on the Sabbath!) The
islanders attacked the crew when they were off their guard, killed the captain
and two others, and released their chief. They then brought the ship nearer shore
and began to plunder its cargo; the clothes of the owner and crew were taken
from them. When news of this affray reached Lifuka, Taufa'ahau set out with a 177
609
643

797 regarded as gods were placed at the foot of the pulpit stairs. Taufa'ahau preached
643 at the opening, taking as his text Solomon's words at the opening of the temple
346 in Jerusalem (I Kings viii. 27). While the chapel was in course of construction Taufa'ahau had found that the pulpit was higher than his own chair which stood on the dais at the side of the chapel. As, in Tongan custom, no one, foreigner or Tongan, should be higher than the chief, he ordered the workmen to raise his chair so that he could look down on the preacher. However, he readily yielded to persuasion and admitted that it was not necessary that he should be elevated in a place of worship.

797 When the Lifuka chapel was built there was said to be only one unbaptized
796 person left in the whole of the Ha'apai group. By October 1834, James Watkin himself had baptized 2,570 adults and 891 children; he had also performed the
797 marriage ceremony for 754 couples. One of the last baptized was the Tamaha
795 who had long resisted the appointment of any teacher to Tungua, her island in
644 western Ha'apai. John Thomas visited Tungua for her baptism on 12 January 1835 when she took the name Amelia Jane. In later years the Tamaha became blind and so infirm that she was carried to church.(23)

797 It was inevitable that many of those who professed conversion in the mass movement in Ha'apai were little more than Christians in name. Almost too
771 much had been attempted too quickly by the missionaries. James Watkin and Peter Turner were disturbed because of the continued prevalence of immorality and other habits unworthy of converts. With such a widely scattered group as Ha'apai, closer supervision and the provision of more trained Tongan teachers were needed.

* * * *

797 In Vava'u the evangelization of the population occurred in the same rapid manner as in Ha'apai and again through the influence of Taufa'ahau. At first
643 Finau 'Ulukalala was stolidly opposed to the new faith. His attitude had been
634 seen in his prohibition against the three Borabora L.M.S. teachers from 1822 to 1830, and he made this policy clear to John Williams when he met him in July 1830. By sending messages and by conversation when he met Taufa'ahau, Finau earnestly endeavoured to dissuade the chief of Ha'apai from accepting Christianity. Both before and after his visit to Lifuka in July 1830 this was evident. Once he added to his request the present of a large canoe which, Taufa'ahau declared, would make good firewood! Seemingly still adamant, Finau, however, was beginning to feel the current of popular feeling moving against him. A few of his people had gone to Ha'apai in their desire to learn the new religion. Taufa'ahau also was relentless in the pressure he exerted on Finau to persuade him to change.

Aleamotu'a Tupou in Tongatapu supported Taufa'ahau in urging Finau to accept the new religion. Finau used the services of a stranded English sailor in Vava'u to write to Nathaniel Turner, at the same time as he replied to one of Aleamotu'a's messages. The sincerity of this strange epistle may well be doubted as it was written on 19 March 1829, a year before he emphasized his hostility to Christian teaching when he met John Williams in Lifuka. The letter to Nathaniel Turner read as follows:—

> "Sir, I am so glad to hear that you are at Tongatapu, teaching my friend Tupou to know the Great God. I hope you will be so kind as to send to Port Jackson" (i.e., Sydney) "for more missionaries to come to my land, to teach me and my people. . . .

[1833 - 1834]

missionaries, alleged that Finau's half-brother, Lualala, should have succeeded 643
him; but he was half-Fijian and ineligible on that account, as David Cargill 634
showed in his book.(34)

Shortly after Taufa'ahau's installation as ruler of Vava'u he was rebuked 643
by Peter Turner and suspended from membership because he had taken some of 595
the deceased Finau's attractive wives. This was in accordance with old pre- 795
Christian customs but was a grave offence against Christian rules of morality and monogamy. Taufa'ahau told Turner that he had liberty to take the wives of his predecessor in the title and that, in any case, "Solomon was more guilty than he".(35) The missionaries felt that any favouritism toward Taufa'ahau would be fatal; already they noticed that some of the Vava'u people were being affected by his example. Turner wrote, "Taufa'ahau was at first offended and seemed to kick against necessary discipline".(36) Afterwards he confessed his fault and penitently asked to be readmitted to membership. When he was again a Church member he was married to Lupe Pau'u (Salote) according to Christian rites on 27 March 1834. He became a class-leader and local preacher on 9 October 1834.

An indication of the mass movement can be seen in the record of baptisms 795
which followed many weeks of instruction. For instance, in Vava'u 240 men were baptized at one service on 25 May 1834, 213 females on 4 June, and on 18 June, 119 children of parents already baptized. The records in Ha'apai were similar. At the same time the work of translation was proceeding, and in 1834 [213]
the complete Gospel of Matthew was printed.

To cope with their expanding duties the ranks of the missionaries were 797
augmented by the arrival of Charles Tucker, John Hobbs and David Cargill. It is strange that the names of Cargill and Tucker appeared in the British Conference Minutes in both 1832 and 1833 as appointments for Fiji but nothing was done to give effect to this.

A special District Meeting on 11 June 1834 reported that Tongan teachers had been successful in the evangelizing of Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou. Peter Turner offered at this meeting to serve on Niua Toputapu but he could not be spared from his appointment at Vava'u. At this time the stationing in the Tonga District was —

| | |
|---|---|
| **Tongatapu:** | Thomas, Cross, Hobbs. |
| **Ha'apai :** | Watkin, Tucker. |
| **Vava'u :** | P. Turner, Cargill.(37) |

The second missionary in Vava'u resided at the inland village of Feletoa where the printing press was located after its removal from Nuku'alofa. Later, the second missionary in Ha'apai was stationed on the small western island of Tungua, the residence of the Tamaha.

Charles Tucker, an unassuming type, was born in 1808 at Horton, Glamorgan, Wales. He served for eight years, until 21 May 1841. His wife was energetic and capable; her teaching ability impressed visiting sea-captains who saw her schools.

John Hobbs arrived with Tucker on 21 June 1833. He was born in 1800 at St. Peters, Isle of Thanet, Kent. He first served in New Zealand together with Nathaniel Turner, from 1824 to 1827, and he resumed his ministry in New Zealand after leaving Tonga on 8 February 1838. He did valuable work in Tonga

[1834-1847]

797 781 experiencing a similar visitation. It is natural to point to the Tongans' excitable temperament and also to the guilt-complex which the preaching of those days tended to produce. This does not explain everything. There was an undoubted change of behaviour in many of those who professed conversion in 1834. Their new and consistent pattern of living could not be attributed to transient emotionalism even though the effect soon faded with many others. Some of the converts became stalwart teachers, not only in Tonga itself, but in Fiji and Samoa; and some of these, in Fiji, passed through fires of persecution. Joel Bulu can be taken as a conspicuous illustration. His published life-story tells of a highly emotional conversion in Vava'u in June 1834, immediately before the revival itself broke out. The psychological details, the release from fear and guilt, the newly-found joy, can be analysed critically, but the result was a life of unswerving fidelity and sacrifice in this transformed Tongan who became Fiji's greatest missionary.

It is true that the 1834 experience disposed missionaries to expect a repetition. Peter Turner, after scenes of a similar kind in Samoa (1835-39), returned to Vava'u, and in 1846 experiences like those of 1834 took place under his leadership. On 4 February, 1846, he wrote that 529 people had been converted and that the chiefs had pardoned all lawbreakers — except those who had set houses on fire (an outbreak of arson had preceded the revival). Peter Turner's study was then a place of prayer for many penitents. Prayer-meetings were sometimes held at 5.30 a.m., 5 p.m. and from 8 to 10 p.m. on the same day.(45) Shortly afterwards, Walter Lawry visited Tonga as General Superintendent. He was disposed to disparage this revival (as did Stephen Rabone, a fellow-missionary), and at the District Meeting of 1847, over which Lawry presided, Turner came under criticism for what Lawry called the "unholy excitement" attending his ministry in Vava'u.

The Wesleyan Church in Tonga accepted as normal and desirable this emotionalism which was so vividly seen in the 1834 revival. Most of the missionaries sincerely encouraged it, believing that these emotional scenes were evidences of the Holy Spirit's converting power. Not all of them seemed to realize how easily the natural feelings of the Tongans could be aroused and how transient the experience could be in many cases.

797 781 795 794 However, the immediate benefits of the 1834 revival were striking. Membership soared although the missionaries were careful to receive only those who attended "class" and who gave proof of their conversion by changed conduct. Even with these requirements the District Meeting at the beginning of 1835 reported an increase of 3,602 members, making a total of 7,838. Ha'apai showed 3,448, Vava'u 3,061, Tongatapu significantly only 929, Niua Toputapu 400.

797 The Church in Vava'u felt a special responsibility for the two Niuas. In 1835 a party of 150 people went in two boats to Niua Fo'ou; seventy of them were lost in one boat. In another voyage forty were lost, and these included the senior teacher appointed to Niua Fo'ou; his body was washed up, still clutching his Bible. The District Meeting on 22 October 1836 appointed a missionary, John Spinney, to Niua Fo'ou; his health, unfortunately, was most precarious and he died, of tuberculosis, not long afterwards, without taking up this appointment or any other in the islands.

Niua Toputapu benefited from Peter Turner's visit of five months under special circumstances. He had left Vava'u on 15 January 1835 to take up his new

[1831-1847]

never been recognized as a separate entity by the medical profession at that time. 164
The missionary's wife wrote: 165

> "After Matthew returned from the islands a very severe affliction broke out. It is supposed to have been brought in a ship to Vava'u, from thence to Nuku'alofa in a canoe, and several of the canoe's crew first died in it. Then it broke out among the people at Nuku'alofa. We heard of the fearful devastation which it made among the people at that place, but nothing occurred here for some time. At length, it found its way to Hihifo, by people going backwards and forwards to Nuku'alofa to attend funerals, &c.
>
> "Some were taken in the way, returned, and died in a few days. It is quite a new complaint in these islands. The first week the complaint broke out here six died in it. We were constantly kept on our feet from the morning to night, giving out medicine. [797] bleeding persons who were seized, &c. It generally attacks the young, strong and healthy. Bleeding is considered indispensably necessary in this affliction. As many as fifteen have been bled in a day at this place. The people are seized in different ways, some at the back of the neck, others at the foot or feet, hand or arms, side, back &c., yet all one complaint. Then comes on a numbness in the limbs, some have much pain, others only a little. It often happens that one or both the arms, one or both the legs, sometimes one arm and one leg, or both arms and both legs, are numb, cold and dead, destitute of all use and feeling. It is almost always preceded by cold shivering, and that followed by a hot fever; very great constipation of the bowels is another very prominent feature in this complaint.
>
> "Many have died suddenly in it, tho' but a few hours before they seemed in full strength, only a little numbness in the limbs. My husband went to see a young woman who did not appear near death then, only both her arms were numb and dead. We went again to her and she was just dying as we entered the house, tho' that were only about three hours after my husband had been talking with her." (84)

In the mid-19th Century the Church was the centre of the community's life. 794
Tonga had become a nation at prayer, in all Wesleyan districts. The Sabbath 796
was the great day of the week, with crowded congregations, enthusiastic choirs, and fervent preaching. Sunday began with prayer meetings at daylight, followed by 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. services, also Sunday School and, generally, evening gatherings of a more informal nature.

Sabbath observance had been readily accepted not only as a welcome 796
cessation from labour but as the external evidence of the change from a 527
non-Christian society. The people believed that the sternest divine sanctions, like their ancient *tapus*, guarded the Sabbath ordinance. This was clear from the early days as when, in 1831, a hurricane wrecked the Spanish brig, *Candide*, in Tongatapu, with some loss of life; the people believed that the tragedy was due to God's wrath upon a crew that had obtained wood and water on the Sabbath preceding the wreck.(85) Tonga has followed its policy of Sabbatarianism to the present day, and this has been embodied in its laws and the Constitution of 1875.

It was almost inevitable that religion tended to consist in compliance with 797
Church rules, as far as many converts were concerned. Attendance at Church in 795
Wesleyan districts was the universal custom; indeed it was specifically enjoined in the Code of Vava'u, 1839, though evidently not enforced. John Thomas 797
declared that even sleeping during a church service was sinful; he believed it was 783
due to tiredness after Saturday night dancing. 513

> "I told them of the evil of such things and that it was a sin to sleep in the worship of God." (86)

Not only the prohibition of all work and games on Sunday but the rigid 797
control of personal behaviour became marked features of Tongan Wesleyanism. 794
This discipline became irksome to many as time went on. Thomas Adams, who came in 1847, deplored the unwillingness of many converts to accept "the restraints

[1877-1880]

by the District Meeting to Sydney for one year's experience, especially in English. 797
Moulton, writing to Chapman, on 3 May 1877, on the eve of his departure, said: 873

> "If left to itself the College would stand and prosper under the headmastership of David. 874
> Alas, that *IF*!" (35) (36)

There seems truth in Baker's charge that Moulton was forming a College
party within the Church.(37) Moulton was in fact creating an intellectual elite. [571]
This was dangerous in a country where families quarrelled so readily; there now [187]
arose an elitist quarrel which could, and did, lead finally to a religious division [189]
which split Tonga asunder. This was in addition to the ambition, jealousy and factiousness within the Mission staff. The evidence points to an element of defiance on Moulton's part which a man less bellicose than Baker would not readily overlook.

---

**Footnotes:**

(1) W.P.H.C. Inward Correspondence, general, No. 287 of 1891; Scarr, D., *Fragments of Empire*, p.4. 113

(2) *M.N.*, 1854, p.754.

(3) Pritchard, W. T., *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p.233; Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.143.

(4) Eggleston to Davis, 20 September 1863. Catalogue 33. M.O.M.C.

(5) Pritchard, ibid, p.289; Derrick, ibid, p.151.

(6) Davis to Eggleston, 10 June 1862. Item 170, Pt. 1. M.O.M.C.

(7) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Item 46. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.

(8) Thomas, ibid. Item 46.

(9) I am indebted to the Rev. E. W. Hames, Auckland, for the correspondence between Lawry and the Secretaries in London; see also Hames, E. W., *Walter Lawry and the Wesleyan Mission in the South Seas*, pp.35-6.

(10) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Microfilm 46. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.

(11) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*, 1849. B.668. M.L.S.

(12) Rabone, S., *Journal*, 22 July 1847. Set 47. M.O.M.C.

(13) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.

(14) Thomas, ibid.

(15) Thomas, ibid, 19 November 1849.

(16) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.

(17) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 46.

(18) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 46.

(19) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 45.

(20) Thomas, ibid, May 1877. M.L.S.

(21) Stephinson, W. G. R., *Journal*. A.N.U.

(22) "Free Church" was the popular name for the Church set up in 1885 with the official title, "The Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga". In this history the short name, "Free Church", is used in references to it before 1924. The full legal name is used after re-union in 1924. [795]

(23) Thomson, Basil, *Diversions of a Prime Minister*, p.222.

(24) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, pp.135-47, for advice given by Charles St. Julian.

(25) Davis to Chapman. Item 170, Pt. 1. M.O.M.C.

(26) Eggleston, J., *Journal*. September 1862.

(27) Firth, F. to Eggleston, 21 February and 24 March 1862. Item 170. M.O.M.C.

(28) Thomas, *Journal*. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.

(29) Stephinson, W. G. R., *Journal*. A.N.U.

(30) Davis to Eggleston, 27 April 1863. Item 170. M.O.M.C.

(31) Eggleston to Davis. Item 169. M.O.M.C.

(32) Eggleston to Davis. Item 33. M.O.M.C.

(33) Eggleston to Davis, 7 July 1863.

(34) Adams to Rabone, 16 June 1863. Uncat. set 197. Item 2. M.O.M.C.

(35) Whewell to Eggleston. Item 170. M.O.M.C.

(36) Eggleston to Davis, 20 September 1862. Catalogue 33. M.O.M.C.

(37) *Reports*. F.W.C.

(38) Amos to Eggleston, 27 February 1857. Item 170, Pt. 2. M.O.M.C.; *M.N.*, 1857.

(39) Adams to Eggleston, 8 February 1859. Item 170, Pt. 2. M.O.M.C.

(40) Baker to Eggleston. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.

[1872-1876]

with the Government, he felt embarrassed by the whole affair (3 May, 23 June, 22 July, 14 September 1876).[11] 797 [652]

* * * *

One issue after another widened the breach on the Mission staff. Criticism fell upon Baker not only because of his outside interests but through his aggressive attitude in matters of Church policy, sometimes without consulting his colleagues. Though he may have been sincere in seeking for the Tongans a larger part in the government of their Church, and the insinuation that he wanted to manipulate the Tongan membership in the Church councils may have been unfair, yet the reforms he was advocating and his own self-assertive manner brought about further division on the Staff. This gravely affected the emerging issue of self-government for the Tongan Church.

The king and people of Tonga, with their national pride, had reached the 795 point of desiring a self-governing Church and were anxious to achieve this before 797 Fiji or any other islands. Their country was independent; why should not their Church have more responsibility, they might well ask. They deserved to have these privileges, if only because Tonga was the first Wesleyan Mission in the South Pacific and the whole group had been evangelized years before this movement for self-government began. This aim could have been realized, and peaceably, if it had not been for the ambition of Baker and the quarrels on the staff.

Baker's biographer, Rutherford, points to the year 1872 as a time when Baker first considered relinquishing the work in Tonga because he was clashing with his colleagues and also because he did not always please the Church authorities in Australia. Instead of returning to Church work in Australia then, he determined to remain in Tonga and to work for an independent Church in which he would have considerable influence. Rutherford believes that he decided on this course because he was making more money in Tonga than he could do in Australia; also because, in an independent Church, he could outwit his rival, Moulton.[12] The evidence supports Rutherford's theory and throws some doubt on Baker's sincerity concerning church policy.

After forming this resolution to remain in Tonga, Baker attended the Conference in Sydney in January 1873, and submitted a request that the Church in Tonga be an independent district under the New South Wales and Queensland Conference. Unfortunately, the exact form of the request is not available. There is nothing on record in Tonga to indicate it because, in actual fact, Baker had not consulted his colleagues on the subject and it had not been brought before the Tonga District Meeting. It was entirely improper for Baker to neglect the channels of Church procedure, and he well knew this. His lame statement afterwards, that he had spoken in general terms about the idea before a public meeting and at a local preachers' gathering where, he said, his colleagues were present, was an evasion. This was characteristic of Baker's lack of straightforwardness that repeatedly annoyed his colleagues.

The only evidence comes from "The Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record", the Church periodical in Sydney, in its issue of 6 February 1873. It stated that the request of Mr. Baker came first before the Missionary Committee in January 1873 and it resolved that his application,

> "on behalf of the Friendly Islands Mission, to be no longer regarded as a Mission, be commended to the favourable consideration of the Conference, in the hope that steps will be taken to carry out the wishes of the Mission." [13]

[1873-1887]

The Church paper reported that Mr. Baker also addressed the Conference (in January 1873) "and conveyed the request of the agents of the District that it be no longer regarded as a Mission, being able to support its own ministers and teachers". This report contains a comment arising from the enthusiastic accounts of progress at Tupou College which Baker described. This came from one of the most respected leaders in Australian Methodism, W. B. Boyce, President of the first Conference after separation from Britain in 1855, who was so influenced by Baker's report as to declare — 795 797

> "If graduates in the native institution can do Algebra and Mensuration, they ought to be able to manage circuit accounts; and if Tongans can raise £9,000 a year for ministerial maintenance, there is nothing against a Tongan Conference with its native President." (14)

Incidentally, neither Baker nor any other missionary ever suggested a "native President".

However indefinite the resolutions may have been they indicated no reluctance on the part of the Church in Australia to favour self-government in Tonga. The report also shows an attitude typical of Baker's lack of candour; he was acting as though his District Meeting, his fellow-missionaries, "the agents of the District", had authorized him to present a request when nothing of the kind had happened.

After Baker returned in April 1873, he found his colleagues disturbed by his actions, particularly his failure to bring the request for changed status to the District Meeting before referring it to Conference. Minns wrote to Chapman (4 May 1873): 795 797 794

> "This is a very critical period in Tonga, and I am particularly anxious that no change should be made in the mode of carrying out our Church work without much careful deliberation. . . . I am decidedly opposed to our becoming an independent Church, and am astonished that the Conference should entertain the question for a moment." (15)

Moulton also wrote to Chapman (2 June 1873):

> "I was very surprised to see in the *Advocate* that Mr. Baker presented the request . . . that Tonga should become an independent District . . . I am sure, sir, however anxious you may be for such a 'consummation', yet you will reprobate such an attempt as that on the part of a Chairman to steal a march on his brethren. Not one of us knew anything about it and no request was sent up. I have spoken to Mr. Baker on the subject, and he says he was wrongly reported, having said 'request of the king', not 'missionaries'. But it is very evident to me from the remarks made and the resolution moved that the Conference understood it to be *our* request." (16)

What Tonga received in January 1873 was permission to form a Home Mission Fund from which local expenses would be paid; and, on 2 December 1873, the District Meeting received the formation of this new fund, "sanctioned by the Committee, as the first true step towards self-government". Both Conference and District Meeting, therefore, were moving onward, if not quickly enough for Baker.

The events that followed in 1874 were of great importance for the future of the Church. Later, Sir Charles Mitchell, in his inquiry into the disturbances of 1887, dealt severely with the failure of the Church in Australia in 1874 to grant "the desire of the king, chiefs and people of Tonga to assume a more independent position in the Wesleyan body than that hitherto accorded to them".(17) The details in the Church records deserve closer examination than Sir Charles may have been able to give in 1887.

First, it should have been recognized that the Church was not unwilling to accede to requests from Tonga even if it acted with caution. Following the decision

[1873 - 1874]

in January 1873 when the formation of the Home Mission Fund was sanctioned, 795
the Missionary Committee resolved, on 3 February 1874:

> "This Committee hails with satisfaction the attempt of the Tongan Church at self-support 797
> and recommends the Conference to appoint the General Secretary [= Chapman] to 794
> visit the Friendly Islands as a deputation and report to next Conference (1875)." (18)

Second, no Wesleyan Mission in any part of the world at that time had been given self-government, and the Church "fathers", though admittedly too paternalistic, felt doubtful about permitting a young Polynesian Church to manage all its own affairs so soon.

Third, there was an unavowed but unmistakably growing distrust of Shirley Baker himself — a useful fund-raiser while under some degree of surveillance from Sydney but a man against whom various charges had been made. How would an independent Tongan Church fare under his leadership?

Fourth, the king's request of 1874, on which Sir Charles laid much stress, was for an undefined scheme of local control.

The king's letter itself is recorded in the Tonga District Meeting Minutes, 643
1874. It was dated 24 March 1874, and was a general request in these terms: 795

> "He [the king] is fully aware that Tonga owes its present position to Christianity, and 797
> in making this communication he cannot forget or cease to love the first missionaries, 794
> Messrs. Thomas, Rabone, Watkin and others . . . But it appears to His Majesty that the step taken will be beneficial to the Church as well as to the Government in Tonga. . . . It is his desire that the affairs of the Church flow in the proper channel. It is not necessary for His Majesty to repeat what he has frequently stated, that it is his desire to live and die a Wesleyan." (19)

On the same date as this letter from the king (24 March 1874) a meeting of the king and chiefs was held. Unlike the vagueness of the king's letter, the resolutions of this meeting were explicit. Rutherford believes that they were drafted by Baker because of their expression and the peremptory tone which was out of keeping with customary Tongan deference:

> "(1) That the time has come when the Church and State should be separated . . . It is now 21 years (sic) since the liberation of the people was made, but in Church affairs the former system is still continuing, and is therefore opposed to the law of liberty, and this meeting says that the time has now come to fulfil the promise made by the missionaries in this matter, and that Trustees be appointed by the Church who shall have the control and superintendence of all matters connected with the Church, and all arrangements for the erection and support of churches &c. shall emanate from the Trustee Meetings, according to the usual Wesleyan law, and not as is the custom here at present.
>
> "(2) With regard to the money which is now collected regularly, this meeting says it is true the people complain of the large sums sent away from the country which are collected at the missionary meetings . . . This meeting says that the time has come when Tonga is able to support the entire expense of the Mission in Tonga, the support of the missionaries, the assistant missionaries, and the whole of the agents employed by the Church, and this meeting earnestly desires that the Committee and Conference will allow the Church in Tonga to become an independent Church, to be supported by the people of Tonga as their Church, as becomes a people who know and understand the Gospel. . . . As it is at present it appears that the possession of Tonga has become the property of another." (20)

The resolution of this meeting of the king and chiefs fixed 1875 as the year when it was desired that the changes should take place, and ended with His Majesty asking for the petition to be granted, "so that the Wesleyan religion may continue steadfast and immovable to the end". (Signed by the King's Secretary, J. P. Miller.)

Before these requests came, first, before the District Meeting on 30 November

[1874]

1874, the opinion of Henry Greenwood is significant. He was generally disposed 643
to support Baker, and he gave a balanced opinion in his letter to Chapman (14 795
July 1874): 797

> "You will have received a copy of the king's letter to our District Meeting and Conference 794
> [24 March 1874]. Perhaps it would have been wise on the part of Mr. Baker to have informed the brethren in his Circuit and District of the contents before he had sent it away to Sydney for publicity, but I hope that no publicity will be given to it before it has been laid properly before our District Meeting. . . .
>
> "I have maintained ever since I came into the District that we are too conservative, neither the native ministers nor preachers in the Quarterly Meeting have their proper place; yet I do not feel prepared to take a leap such as that desired by the king, and my reason is simply that the office-bearers (that is, native agents) have not been trained or prepared for anything of the sort . . . To be candid, I fear what is proposed, or rather if what is proposed is carried out, it will be putting the power not into the hands of the Tongan Church as a Church but the Tongan chiefs . . .
>
> "The Tongan Church is not prepared for independence, it has not asked for it (the king and a few chiefs are not the Church), and it would be most disastrous to give it independence." (21)

Not only did Greenwood feel that the Tongan Church was not ready but he was concerned at the prospect of the chiefs dominating it; again, the dangers of a "chiefly church" were apparent.

On 30 November 1874, the Tonga District Meeting, dealing with these 795
requests in the first instance, recommended to the Missionary Committee and 797
Conference that they be granted, except for the missionaries' salaries, which, it 794
was felt, should not be left for the Tongan Church to provide but should be the responsibility of the Church in Australia; that class-money, the so-called ticket money, should support all Tongan ministers and their assistants, with any surplus to go to the Home Mission Fund; and that this Fund be controlled by a committee on which all Tongan ministers and an equal number of laymen should sit. The addition of Tongan ministers to membership of the District Meeting, and laymen in the Circuit Quarterly Meetings, was recommended. This represented an advance towards self-government and Baker deserved full credit for promoting this step.

The District Meeting of 1874 also desired that the king be asked to grant a Model Deed with Trustees holding church property, on the same lines as in Wesleyan Churches in Australia, with the condition that land so secured should not be used for other than Church purposes. As far back as 1861 the District Meeting had resolved

> "that the time to secure . . . all our church properties . . . has now arrived; and, King George having promised to sign the necessary documents, . . . steps be immediately taken for the accomplishment of this purpose." (22)

Preparations were authorized by this District Meeting (1874) for the observance of the Jubilee of the Wesleyan Church in 1876, with a special fund to endow the Home Mission Fund, the surplus to be used to build five Jubilee Memorial Churches and a new Tupou College hall, this fund for local expenditure to be locally controlled.

All these reforms, recommended by the District Meeting, were approved by the Church in Australia.

When Chapman, Missionary Secretary, arrived in Tonga in November 1874 to investigate the whole situation, as arranged by the Conference in January 1874, Baker was able to show him that the Tongans were appreciating their measure of self-government, and he pointed to the success in raising money for local needs as proof of this. Moulton, though ever watchful of Baker, had been impressed

[1874-1875]

with the successful introduction of Tongans into membership of Circuit Quarterly Meetings and had congratulated him upon the result.(23) The slight improvement in Baker-Moulton relations was reflected in better support for Moulton's work at Tupou College. Referring to these matters, Moulton had written to Chapman: 795 797 794

> "The missionaries are recognizing its value" (i.e., the College) "more and more . . . Mr. Baker and myself are working harmoniously in our respective spheres and helping one another where we can." (24)

The general satisfaction with the new arrangements was seen in the record of the District Meeting on 30 November 1874:

> "Praise must be accorded to the Rev. S. W. Baker, our Chairman, for his zeal in bringing about the present state of things. We are, however, greatly indebted to our General Secretary [Chapman] for the initiating of a scheme, which we think will for the present satisfy the wants of the Tongan Church, and must eventually lead to this becoming a native Church, supported by native means, and carried on almost exclusively by native agents." (25)

After this District Meeting, Chapman, Baker and Moulton waited on the king with the completed scheme for the Home Mission Fund, and "he expressed himself as well pleased with the contemplated changes".(26) [643]

The 1875 Conference in Sydney, on 20 January, received Chapman's report, and decided that the Missionary Committee should continue to be responsible for the salaries of the missionaries, but that class-money, ticket money, should support all Tongan agents' salaries, with any surplus to be paid into the Home Mission Fund which should also aid the church schools. On 3 February 1875, the Missionary Committee endorsed these arrangements, and added that the Mission schools should be maintained "until provision is made by the Government for primary education". It resolved also that the king be asked to give permission for the Model Deed for the leasing of all church lands needed for church purposes.

All these changes evidently gratified the king, who agreed to the appointment of Church trustees in terms of the Model Deed, in conformity with usual Wesleyan practice. The Model Deed, 15 December 1875, made Baker, Moulton, and two Tongan laymen the trustees; the Model Deed was signed by the king, and the seal of the Tonga Government affixed. The leases were for 99 years. [643]

It seems that Sir Charles Mitchell did not realize the nature and extent of these measures taken in 1874-5. Sir Charles, certainly, believed that the recognition of the Tongan Church with "District status" in 1881 was given seven years too late; but the evidence of the Tongans' reactions to the new measures in 1875 should have been considered. Baker's letter to Chapman on 6 January 1875 showed his own and the king's satisfaction:

> "You will be glad to hear that the king has signed the Deed and that the Government seal has been affixed. Now we may say, as far as Methodism is concerned, we have little to fear in Tonga." (27)

On 15 March 1875 Baker wrote to Chapman,

> "I am glad that the Committee have given sanction to the financial scheme. I told the old king so and his face brightened up at the news. It will be the best thing that was ever done for Tonga." (28)

Again, on 26 June 1875, Baker told Chapman:

> "I greatly rejoice that all the resolutions of our District Meeting have been unanimously passed in Conference. . . . I am truly thankful to the Lord for our success . . ." (29)

Not only was the king gratified but the next District Meeting, which now included all Tongan ministers, on 27 December 1875, sent a warm resolution of thanks to the Conference in Sydney for the new arrangements.

• • • •

[1876-1878]

(Pylstaart) being brought to 'Eua for the convenience of the missionaries whereas 797
in fact the king had brought them to Tongatapu and 'Eua because of "the vile 177
traffic of the whalers with the women of the island",(81) and the depradations of 166
blackbirders who took the inhabitants to guano digging and sugar planting in Peru and Chile where some, unfortunately, died. Baker had no difficulty in showing the falsity of statements of this nature.

Sir Arthur Gordon did not attach much weight to many of Layard's charges. 797
In regard to one, that Ma'afu of Fiji should be the heir-apparent instead of 'Unga, Gordon was satisfied that 'Unga was properly the heir. Summing up, Gordon considered the only justifiable grounds for complaint against Baker were two, his political activities and his excessive fund-raising efforts.(82) Baker was to hear more about these — but not from the discredited Consul Layard. On Gordon's recommendation, the Earl of Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary, and Lord Derby, Foreign Secretary, refused to take any action against Baker on Layard's
charges.(83) Not only did Baker succeed in refuting these but he regarded 1876, [794]
the Jubilee year, as the high-water mark in the history of the Mission, and proudly [795]
recorded that, as well as the large financial contributions,

> "we have had a glorious revival, upwards of 600 have joined the Church, upwards of 60 Papists have turned over; never has Tonga had such a glorious revival." (84)

It was significant that, up to this stage, Baker was supported by Frederick Langham, veteran missionary and influential Chairman of the Fiji District. He protested against Layard not informing Baker that he was laying charges.(85) Langham believed that Gordon was moved by a desire to have Baker out of the way lest his pro-German policy injure British interests in Fiji and the whole area. Langham, in writing to Chapman, 28 June 1878, added:

> "I reminded him (Gordon) that he had told me that, if Mr. Baker were not removed from Tongatapu, he would have to take some action." (86)

Greater pressure was exerted against Baker when Maudslay arrived in June 1878 as Deputy Commissioner and Vice-Consul. From the outset, Maudslay was prejudiced. He soon began investigating the missionary's conduct in both political and financial affairs. Naturally, Baker resented Maudslay's inquiries; he even preached against him from the pulpit, warning the people to ignore him, from the text, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you . . . ?" (Galatians iii. 1).

Maudslay had the assistance of another officer of the Fiji Government, David Wilkinson, who was a practising member of the Wesleyan Church and respected by the Chairman of the Fiji District, Langham. Wilkinson became very critical of
Baker. He told Langham that some Tongans, unable to pay their debts to [452]
Godeffroy after the collections, had lost their goods, sold at ridiculous prices; [685]
and this had occurred after drought and hurricane had reduced them to abject poverty.(87) Maudslay and Wilkinson, in their visits to villages, met with difficulty in securing witnesses because Baker was dismissing from office in the Church those who gave them information. Wilkinson wrote to Langham:

> "He is pursuing so tyrannical a course towards natives and all he regards as his enemies and threatens the utmost pains and punishment to those who gave us information." (88)

Wilkinson, "as a Wesleyan", asked Maudslay to suspend action against Baker pending an approach to the Missionary Committee to remove him. Langham wrote to Wilkinson objecting to Baker not being given an opportunity to defend himself against the allegations; nevertheless, Langham added:

> "But, after taking all these things into consideration and giving them due weight, there still remains a feeling of uneasiness and an apprehension that there may be something underlying it all." (89)

[1879-1880]
Chapter XIV.

# THE SECESSION OF THE FREE CHURCH (1885)

Although Baker had evidently determined to flout the will of the Conference he attended its sessions in Sydney in January 1880. The report of Chapman and Clarke was received. His protestations had no effect. The Conference unanimously endorsed the Missionary Committee's action in recalling Baker from Tonga. The Conference resolution showed the central fault in Baker's conduct as far as Church law was concerned: 797

> "With reference to his interference in the politics of Tonga Mr. Baker has gone beyond the bounds permitted to our missionaries."

Baker requested, and was granted, permission to "rest", that is, to be left without a Church appointment, for one year and to reside in New Zealand for that period. He had, at first, asked for permissoin to vacate his ministerial tasks for five years and to assist the king and the Government for that time, with the option of resuming his ministerial position after five years; this was contrary to the rules of the Church and Baker was informed that this request could not be entertained. He gave the Conference his pledge not to return to Tonga during the one year of his residence in New Zealand. He was not specifically forbidden to return to Tonga lest such a requirement give umbrage to the king whom the Church was always anxious to conciliate but, instead, Baker's promise not to visit Tonga was accepted. This pledge he flagrantly disregarded.

The king reacted angrily to the Conference's decision not to reappoint Baker to Tonga. He threatened to revoke the Church leases. He also sent Conference a request that Tonga be made an independent district with direct representation to the Conference, "in all respects like colonial districts", with his promise that the missionaries' salaries would be met by the Tongan Church. Being an independent District or having "District status" instead of being a "Mission District" would mean that Tonga would no longer be subject to the Missionary Committee. It was this Committee with which Baker had repeatedly clashed. It was a matter of pride with the king that Tonga should have a higher status and should not be supervised by the Missionary Committee as Fiji, Samoa and New Britain were. 797 643 795 794

This Conference of January 1880 agreed to place the king's request before the General Conference which alone could decide the issue; General Conference was to meet in May 1881. Conference also pointed out that the application should pass through the District Meeting in Tonga in the first instance. Actually, the matter had been discussed in the District Meeting in December 1879, with Watkin in the chair; Baker was then in Auckland. The Meeting asked Conference and General Conference "to give the king's request earnest consideration and to accede as far as it is possible to the request".(1)

Baker had gone to New Zealand late in 1879 before attending the Conference 797
in Sydney. He had accompanied David 'Unga, Crown Prince and Premier, who 644

[1880]

Moulton did not return from England until July 1880, after three years' absence. He arrived in the midst of the turmoil caused by Baker's rise to political eminence. Soon afterwards he called on Baker and said, 797

> "Well, Mr. Baker, you and I fought in the old times because I thought you were breaking our laws and it was my duty to prevent it. That reason no longer exists and I hope your regime will be prosperous."

To this Baker replied,

> "It doesn't matter much. I shall rule the Church as well as the State." (10) [645]

As far as Moulton personally was concerned, he returned to find that the king's favour had passed entirely to Baker and that the king was most suspicious of him.

On 2 August 1880 Dr. Kelynack, Presdent of the Conference of which Baker was still technically a minister, sent him details of charges which the Mission Board had formulated. Baker, in Auckland again, wrote on 6 September, giving reasons why he should be excused from facing the Mission Board. Kelynack replied on 10 September:

> "You have taken a wrong course in taking office in the Government. Such a position is inconsistent with the pledge you gave to the Conference. It is inconsistent with your position as a minister and is calculated to damage our Mission work. The consequences which may come out of it in relation to international politics render it highly undesirable and improper." (11)

The members of the Mission Board agreed to the facts, but the decision to proceed with the charges against Baker was carried only by seven votes to six, an indication that some feared that a trial of Baker would be unwise and would worsen the already delicate position with the king. The charges were:—

(1) that, in accepting a Government appointment, Mr. Baker has acted "contrary to the laws of the Church";

(2) "that this is an aggravated form of the offence which occasioned the protracted inquiry into Mr. Baker's conduct at the last Conference" (January 1880).

(Conference had then decided "that Mr. Baker's taking a more prominent part in directing the affairs of the Government of Tonga and his having so much to do with its official arrangements were a direct contravention of the Instructions given to missionaries";).

(3) "that Mr. Baker's conduct is a violation of the pledge given by him to the Conference that he would do all he could to promote the peace of the Church in Tonga and the interests of the Missionary Society." (12)

The charges added that Baker's pledge not to return to Tonga had been accepted instead of Conference prohibiting his return; also that he had moved the Tongan Parliament's address in reply accepting the king's withdrawal of financial support from the Church. Baker was given one week to come to Sydney to answer the charges, if he was in Auckland, or two months if he was in Tonga. He did not appear.

Baker's reply to Dr. Kelynack on 16 December 1880 was a cool denial of the jurisdiction of the Mission Board's Committee of Discipline over him. He asked that his request "to retire from the ministry for several years in order to assist King George" be presented to the 1881 Conference.

In December 1880 a further ominous action by the king was notified in a Proclamation: 643 795 797

> "I, George Tupou . . . having made up my mind that my people and country shall be entirely free and independent, and having thoroughly resolved that Tonga should have

[1880-1883]

> an independent Church, take this opportunity of publishing my intention so that the leaders of the Church in Sydney, the missionaries, and the whole world shall see that I am determined to have the separation. You, chiefs and people, who hold any position, even to the lowest in the Government, or you who are in any way related to me, are to abstain from subscribing at mission collections, paying ticket-money, building or repairing churches or teachers' houses, or cooking food to feed the preachers. Other people are to please themselves. If this Proclamation does not have the desired effect, I shall take other measures." (13) 643 795 797

(The cooking of food for preachers was the customary Sunday meal in honour of a preacher.)

From this Proclamation the Church in Australia, and Moulton in Tonga, should have taken warning. The sands were running out fast. 797

It is true that this royal interdict on contributions to church funds was not always observed in the troubled years that followed. Oldmeadow noted that the missionary contributions in Vava'u in 1882 were generally well maintained but the separate collection for overseas missions was minimal.(14) This missionary regularly conversed with the king, who often stayed in Vava'u, and the king was invariably pleasant towards him. Tupou supervised the building of the new chapel at Neiafu and presided at the missionary meeting, with its collection, at the opening of the chapel on 12 November 1883.(15) 643 797

In the excitement caused by the Royal Proclamation in December 1880 the District Meeting was held in Ha'apai (13 December). Watkin was chairman. Moulton, Minns, Oldmeadow and the Tongan ministers were present. Reports from the circuits gave alarm because many people were ceasing to subscribe; many, interpreting the king's action as signifying opposition to the general operations of the Church, were showing indifference to its worship. The District Meeting resolved:— 797

> "Re Tonga ceasing to be a Mission District.
>
> That, as H.M. King George of Tonga has given unequivocal proof of his intention to press his request that Tonga cease to be a Mission District, by holding aloof from our missionary meetings, and by prohibiting any connected with the Government from assisting in Church matters, and has also threatened to take steps of a still more seroius character, this Meeting, as a choice of two evils, unanimously requests the Conference to take steps for carrying out the wish of the king, viz., by obtaining permission from the General Conference to legislate on the matter by appointing a deputation to arrange details with the next District Meeting." (14)

Whether or not the District Meeting was motivated by fear of still further offending the king, the resolution was definite. In the unanimous decision both Watkin and Moulton supported the change from Mission District status "as a choice of two evils". The Meeting also wrote officially to the king signifying its support to his request. Eventually, the General Conference in May 1881 decided that Tonga should be an independent district with control over its own finances. The king then expressed his gratification; he said indeed that he had been given more than he had asked for. Why, then, did he afterwards press for a complete break with the Church in Australia — or did he in fact do this? On the surface it would seem that the unwise decisions of the January 1881 New South Wales and Queensland Conference, making Moulton Chairman and appointing Watkin to a circuit in Australia, were the reason. The real causes lay deeper. They were — the widening rift between Baker and Moulton; the king's growing antipathy towards Moulton who acted injudiciously at several points; and the determination of Baker to promote secession from the Church which had disciplined him for his breach of church laws and his broken pledges. 797 643

[1879-1885]

The king's growing antipathy to Moulton boded ill for the future of the 797
Church but Conference evidently felt that Moulton had done nothing to warrant
being passed over. It could hardly appoint a junior missionary like Oldmeadow
who, in any case, was about to return. It transpired that the king was as much [643]
annoyed by Watkin's removal as he had been by Baker's recall in 1879, and
the gulf between him and the mother Church widened still more. Watkin, too,
was affected. He had been most critical of Baker and had advocated his leaving
Tonga because of the discredit he had brought on the Church; and he had decided,
at that time, that he himself must return because of the scandals of Baker's regime
and his own loss of respect for him. Now, although he never really respected
Baker again, he was estranged from the Church in Australia. He admitted to Sir
Charles Mitchell at the inquiry in 1887 that "he had made up his mind in 1881
to join the Free Church".(21) Continuing to serve as a Wesleyan minister until [795]
the Free Church was formed in 1885, when he became its President, must leave
Watkin open to the criticism of disloyalty and dissembling.

The January 1881 Conference had been unwise, but the General Conference 797
did everything possible to meet the main request of the king. The General 795
Conference, which sat every three or four years, assembled in Adelaide in May
1881, and it dealt with the king's request, received by the January 1880 New
South Wales and Queensland Conference. Its decision was that, from 31 December
1881, Tonga would cease to be subject to the jurisdiction of the Mission Board
and would be a District attached to the New South Wales and Queensland
Conference in the same way that other districts in those colonies were. The
decision of General Conference in detail was:

> "That the Friendly Islands District cease to be under the management of the Board of Missions and be connected directly with the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, and be entirely self-supporting from 31 December 1881.
>
> "That the Friendly Islands District shall have its own separate District funds. The Committee of such funds shall be appointed annually by the Conference on the nomination of the District Meeting.
>
> "That the Friendly Islands District which has been since 1875 responsible for the support of the native department of the work shall hereafter, from 1 January 1882, undertake the pecuniary responsibility of the entire work in the District as requested by Tonga . . .
>
> "In the event of the occurrence of any great calamity by which the Friendly Islands District may be rendered unable to fulfil its obligations the deficiencies in the allowances of the ministers may be paid by the Mission Board." (22)

There had been no request for the last undertaking; it was promised, at the
insistence of Chapman, as an evidence of goodwill. These resolutions, moved by
Chapman, were carried in a full Conference by 69 votes to one.(23) A special 797
address to the king in affectionate terms was attached to the resolutions. All this 795
softened the heart of the king who said that he had been given more than he had 643
asked for. He had indeed received all — District status, freedom from the Mission
Board, full financial control. Mitchell, at the 1887 inquiry, stated that the 1881
General Conference met all the king's desires although he felt that it should have
happened earlier. Why, then, was peace not restored in May 1881? The reason 797
lay in Baker himself. If he had not been implacably opposed to the Church in
Australia, harmony could have been re-established in Tonga.

The incident which followed immediately upon these decisions of General Conference was one of the clearest evidences of Baker's responsibility for the disruption in the Tongan Church when this seemed to have been prevented by the action of General Conference. On the last day, 29 May 1881, and after General

[1885]

the immediate acceptance of Tupou's demands. He was unwilling to wait for the 797
visit of the deputation.

To make matters worse, the departure of the deputation was held up by
shipping difficulties. It did not reach Tonga until 1 May 1885. The Church had [795]
been hopelessly split four months before then by the establishment of the Free
Church. Baker had struck his blow at last and he felt confident of complete
success.

* * * *

The Free Church began on Sunday, 4 January 1885, when services were 795
held at Lifuka in the open air. Baker had called there and found dissension in the Wesleyan congregation because of disciplinary action taken by the District Meeting against its young minister, Paul Vi, son of the veteran Peter Vi. The Meeting, at which Watkin was present, on 13 October 1884, had suspended Paul Vi until the ensuing Conference in Sydney in January 1885 for saying that, if a new Church was set up, he would join it.(42) Oldmeadow, on the eve of leaving Tonga, in one of his diary's last entries, referred to this decision:

> "Held our closing session to-day. Paul Vi made a treasonable (sic) speech for which the Meeting voted he be suspended until Conference deals with his case." (43)

Baker saw this division in the Lifuka congregation as the opportunity he wanted. On the morning of 4 January he arranged for an outdoor service which about 500 attended. It was followed by another in the afternoon with a congregation of about 1,000. Baker asked for a show of hands from those who "loved the king" and who would join his Church. And so the Free Church was born. It was both completely self-governing and a "chiefly church".

Baker went to Vava'u forthwith to report his action to the king. A Roman [643]
Catholic source indicates that the king was displeased with Baker for taking the
matter into his own hands. Baker had been in Vava'u in the week before Sunday,
4 January, and he had not, it would seem, said anything to the king about
beginning the secession. After he had mollified Tupou, it was publicly proclaimed
that all Wesleyans were expected to join the new Church. Everyone in Vava'u
expressed compliance, and almost the same unanimity appeared in Ha'apai. All
public servants and all village mayors were required to join or forfeit their
positions. No one gave any heed to the guarantee of freedom of worship in the [642]
1875 Constitution. This was evident when the king opened the 1885 Parliament, 643
later in the year, and said: 646

> "You are all aware that since we last assembled the Free Church of Tonga has been 795
> established. You are all acquainted with the reasons of my doing so. I need not repeat
> them now. I will simply say, as I have said in fonos [= public assemblies] that I
> have held —
>
> > 'He that hath any love to me and Tonga will follow me and be of one mind with me in this matter'."

The Parliament, in its Address in Reply, significantly said:

> "With reference to the Free Church, your Majesty well knows our minds in reference to the same, and we need not repeat what we have said in other places to you. It is only for you to command and we will obey." (44)

Everywhere it was represented as the king's will that all should join his Church 795
and those who hesitated or refused were stigmatized as disloyal to him. 643

Moulton went to Lifuka two days after the establishment of the Free Church 797
to ascertain the truth of what had been reported to him. He then returned to 795

[1885]

Tongatapu to rally support. Though some in Tongatapu were influenced by 797
anti-Baker feeling, especially in the Mu'a district, the support was generally based 795
on religious grounds as well as personal loyalty to Moulton. A long series of complaints from Moulton about persecution and deprivation of officials' positions began. All these complaints met with evasion from Baker. The bitter tone of Moulton's protests did nothing to allay the ill-feeling long existing between the two men. The implied reliance on British support, to which Moulton sometimes referred, played into Baker's hands. Moulton was unwise in stressing his privileges as a British subject and, as time went by, calling for protection from the British Consul. This enabled Baker to pillory him as an enemy of Tonga's national aspirations. Wesleyans were being asked whether they loved the king or Moulton, with the inference of supporting either Tongan independence or British interference. Thus the real issues were submerged in misrepresentation and emotionalism.

On 15 January Watkin became President of the new Church. He was to 795
receive the same salary and superannuation as his entitlement in the Wesleyan ministry, and he was also made Royal Chaplain at a salary. On the same day he sent his resignation to J. H. Fletcher, President of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference (who was also, it happened, President of the General Conference):

> "Finding that King George had fully determined to secede from the Wesleyan Church,
> though I asked His Majesty not to take action until the arrival of the deputation 795
> appointed by General Conference, but he most emphatically stated that his mind was 643
> fully made up and he would wait no longer; and, in addition to His Majesty's determination to secede, several thousands of natives in Ha'apai and Vava'u already joined with the king in the secession movement. When, therefore, His Majesty requested me to take charge of the new movement, I felt it my duty to accept the position and assist in conducting it to a successful issue. I have been all the more willing to accede to the request of His Majesty and also the wishes of a large number of natives, seeing that the Independent (sic) Church of Tonga is thoroughly Wesleyan in all matters of discipline and doctrine. An additional reason for my joining the movement is that, owing to the fixed determination of the king and his people to secede, there was the danger, if left to themselves, of many of them drifting into Popery, but this will probably be arrested by my taking part in the movement." (45)

It was a poor piece of sophistry from a missionary who was deserting his Church after more than twenty years' service. In justice to Watkin it should be said that he endeavoured always to keep the new Church true to Wesleyan principles in its teachings and practices. Also, he echoed the people's thoughts in his deference and loyalty to the king. At no time, however, did he evince any love or respect for Baker.

W. C. Collet, Secretary to the High Commissioner in Suva, in his memorandum 795
of 9 March 1885, referred to reports from Tonga and noted that the secession had been "long contemplated by Baker" and had occurred in the absence on leave of Symonds, the Consul.

> "Evidently Baker does not think that King George will last long and considers that with the king's death his own reign will be over unless he can get the better of the Church" (= the Church in Australia) "and the Consul." (46)

What was regarded by some as a Constitution of the Free Church was drawn up at once, with the date 4 January, the Sunday of the first service, and with the king's signature only. That signature, of course, was appended some days after 4 January. It was a brief document, not used afterwards by the Free Church; it came into the possession of Mr. Baker's family and was kept by them until it

[1885-1924]

was produced during the legal proceedings connected with the reunion of the Churches in 1924.

A formal Conference of the new Church was held on 8 August 1885. This Conference legally constituted the Church. It drew up a longer document which also was called the Constitution. In this the Church was declared to be "The Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga". Its doctrines and discipline were affirmed to be those of the Wesleyan Church in every respect. The only difference was stated to be its freedom from any outside connection. The king, Baker, Watkin, and many leading Tongans gave their signatures and set their seals to this Constitution of 8 August 1885. It was kept by Watkin and not shown to Queen Salote and other responsible persons when they asked for it in the years prior to reunion in 1924. Although the official name was "The Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga", this was shortened in general use to "The Free Church".

The Constitution of 8 August 1885 was prominently before the inquiry held by the High Commissioner, Sir Charles Mitchell, in 1887. At that inquiry Baker and Watkin were on the defensive and were anxious to rebut any charge of schism or repudiation of Wesleyan origins, doctrines and discipline. They frequently declared to Mitchell that the Church was properly styled "The Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga" which was identical in doctrines &c. with the Wesleyan Church in Australia. Mitchell was also told that the two Churches in Tonga could be reunited on the basis of being an independent Conference affiliated with the Australian General Conference.(47) Baker would have been amazed indeed if he could have known that what he so shrewdly used to ward off criticisms of his actions was the means of legally securing the reunion of the Churches in 1924 as an independent Conference affiliated with the General Conference.

At Sir Charles Mitchell's inquiry in 1887 Baker, strange to say, denied responsibility for setting up the Free Church on 4 January 1885. The High Commissioner dismissed Baker's disavowal in these words:

> "The General Conference to which the last appeal had been addressed assembled at Christchurch, in the end of 1884, appointed a committee to visit Tonga; but, before the arrival of that committee, the Free Wesleyan Church was started at Ha'apai by Mr. Baker. Mr. Baker's account of that transaction will be found in the evidence; and, although he denies setting up this Church, I think the evidence bears out the contrary assertion: and I think, moreover, that the secession had been pre-arranged with the king. This event apparently took place on Sunday, the 4th January 1885." (48)

Baker was eager to justify his actions and to represent them in the best light to people outside Tonga. He wrote to J. H. Fletcher, President of the General Conference, on 14 February 1885, acknowledging the king's receipt of the November 1884 General Conference resolutions, and adding:

> "His Majesty wishes me to say that he is no longer a member of the Wesleyan Church in connection with the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, but a member of the Tongan Wesleyan Free Church (sic). His Majesty deeply regrets the action taken by the General Conference in so unnecessarily prolonging the unhappy state of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga and by so doing causing the secession which has taken place. . . .
>
> "His Majesty wishes me to say that, although separated from the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, yet the Wesleyan Free Church holds the same doctrines and discipline. His Majesty considers that the Wesleyan Free Church will be closer in sympathy with the ordinances organized by the old missionaries than those now instituted by Mr. Moulton" (Baker here was obviously referring to Moulton's translation of the New Testament, his hymns, and his re-translation of the Liturgy). "The only difference between the Wesleyan Free Church of Tonga and yours being that the

[1885]

> Wesleyan Free Church is not in connection with your Conference and manages its own 795
> financial affairs."

The letter proceeded to mention, without comment, the expected visit of the "deputation from General Conference".(19)

The king's grandson, the Crown Prince, Wellington Ngu, died of a heart 644
attack on 11 March 1885. Thus two generations of designated successors, in 764
'Unga and Ngu, had been removed by death in five years. The funeral took place [276]
at 'Uiha. No Wesleyans were allowed to participate in the funeral ceremonies or
sit in the kava-ring. No greater affront than this could have been offered to any [577]
Tongan chief. One of those so debarred was a grandson of the king. At a public 643
gathering at 'Uiha, later in the month, the king gave all who refused to join the 795
Free Church until the end of May to conform "or seek another country — Fiji 798
is the nearest", he said. The Wesleyans now knew what to expect.

During the protracted funeral ceremonies, on 25 March, Baker wrote to the 795
President of the Conference (1885), J. A. Nolan, from 'Uiha: 797

> "I am commanded by His Majesty King George, assembled with all the chiefs of Tonga 643
> for the purpose of doing honour to the remains of the Crown Prince. . . . to state that the line of conduct which Mr. Moulton is at present pursuing must ultimately lead to a breach of the peace between the chiefs and their people, and, that, if Mr. Moulton remains in Tonga, it is not possible to foresee what consequences it may lead to. His Majesty has therefore commanded me most respectfully to request you as President of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference immediately to exercise your authority and remove Mr. Moulton, and that, if you do not do so, His Majesty must hold you responsible for the consequences whatever they may be." (30)

Moulton's offence, at that time, was his publishing circular letters to the Wesleyans 795
not only urging them not to leave their Church but criticizing the formation of the 797
new Church.

Just before the deputation from General Conference arrived Baker received a letter from the Rev. Dr. E. I. Watkin, of Victoria, brother of J. B. Watkin, and a critic of Moulton. Naturally, he was receiving information from his brother. In this letter of 3 April 1885, Dr. Watkin expressed to Baker the hope that the Free Church would return to the Wesleyan Church, but, to make this possible, Moulton and his young colleague, Crosby, should be removed, and the Church in Tonga should be attached to the Victoria and Tasmania Conference. Dr. Watkin expressed strong criticism of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference in January 1884 for its failure to condemn Moulton for uttering words "capable of being construed as an imprecation against the king".

When the deputation (Langham, Rabone, and Watsford) arrived on 1 May, it found (as it reported), that

> "All Vava'u had turned to the new Church, nearly all Ha'apai, and more than half of Tongatapu. We found Mr. Baker supreme, in all but name the king of Tonga. We told him so, over and over again, and he could not deny it. . . . He is everything in the new Church . . . No one can fail to see this. Persecution, fierce and cruel persecution, has been carried on against our people. . . . The king's command is made known by the ruling chief at village meetings, and sometimes by Mr. Baker himself, that they should all turn to the Free Church." (31)

Both the king and Baker, in interviews with the deputation, admitted the use [687]
of force and punishment against many individuals, but averred that these were [688]
"not because they are Wesleyans but because they are with Mr. Moulton, who is
opposed to the Government". The deputation reported that Baker declared that
Moulton was working to secure the annexation of Tonga by Britain, but, they

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1885]

added, "Mr. Moulton says there is not the slightest foundation for saying this, that 795
he was not in favour of annexation, and had made no move in the world to 797
ensure it".(32) The deputation reported many instances of persecution and [688]
banishment (e.g., to the uninhabited island of Kao); these were admitted by
Baker.(33) The deputation's recommendations were: [687]

(1) That the Tonga District be attached to the Victoria and Tasmania Conference.

(2) That Mr. Moulton be allowed to retire to a New South Wales Circuit.

(3) That Mr. Watkin also return to an appointment in Australia, as he had requested earlier, with "no disabilities because of anything that has taken place".

(4) That other ministers be sent from Australia.

Baker demurred to the third, and said that

> "if Mr. Moulton and Mr. Crosby were removed, and Mr. Watkin allowed to remain at the head of the new Church, he and Mr. Watkin could, in two or three years, say by the next General Conference, so prepare the new Church that it might be connected with one of the Annual Conferences." (34)

Irrespective of whatever reliance might be placed on Baker's unexpected aspirations for reunion, the deputation felt that it would be wrong to reinstate Watkin in an appointment in Tonga after he had deserted his Church.

Finally, the deputation recommended that the Wesleyan Church should not retire from Tonga, as had been suggested, because this would mean the abandonment of many loyal ministers and people who had stood firm against extreme pressure. Having so decided, the deputation reaffirmed the recommendation that Moulton should withdraw.

> "In view of the complications which have arisen, the impossibility of any friendly communication between the parties, together with the fact that Mr. Moulton has expressed himself strongly about the impossibility of any reconciliation being effected, we are convinced that a change is desirable." (35)

Baker wrote to George Brown on 4 May, while the deputation was in Nuku'alofa, opposing the return of Watkin, which, he said,

> "the king and chiefs would look upon as a kind of punishment for Mr. Watkin and censure upon the king. If the Free Church is to be taken back to Methodism, Mr. Watkin must take it back." (36)

There was some truth in those last words, but only if Baker and Watkin were sincere in desiring "the Free Church to be taken back to Methodism". There was no reason for believing that either was sincere in this.

Before leaving Tonga, the deputation met the king in Vava'u and informed [643]
him of their recommendations, but the king gave them no satisfaction and only
reiterated his requirement that Moulton must go.

The deputation drew up its report on 16 May, in Fiji on the way home. On 31 December 1885, Langham sent a letter to the President of the Conference, indicating that he had changed his mind about Moulton's removal. Subsequently, Rabone did the same. Langham said he had come to the conclusion that removing Moulton would not heal the breach:

> "On the contrary, it would, I fear, further the purpose which Messrs. Baker and Watkin evidently are determined by any means to accomplish, viz., the extermination of Wesleyan Methodism from the Tonga District." (37)

[1885]

Wesleyan ministers were offered much higher salaries to induce them to join 795
the Free Church, and some accepted the offers. The adhesion of one particularly 797
was desired by the king. He was David Tonga, who had been Moulton's chief
assistant at Tupou College. It was generally recognized that he had no superior in
intellectual qualities and in leadership ability; and his integrity was impeccable.
When he was asked by the king to defect to the new Church and be rewarded for
so doing, he replied simply, "I would lose the very qualities Your Majesty admires
in me if I were to turn to the Free Church for gain".

As to the nature and extent of the persecutions the evidence before the High
Commissioner and Mr. Justice Clarke, Judicial Commissioner, in March 1887,
was convincing, as also were their findings regarding Baker's involvement. There
are hundreds of statements in the Church Office in Nuku'alofa with details of
maltreatment and injustice suffered by Wesleyans during this period.

The chiefs held a compulsory assembly *(fono)* in one village after another 797
and told the people that they must obey the king or take the consequences. There 795
is no doubt that the majority of those who joined the Free Church did so, not 798
because of the issues involved, but in obedience and loyalty to Tupou. Their
obedience, in many cases, was due to the chiefs' intimidation. It was indeed a
new thing in Tonga for anyone to resist the expressed will of the king. When the
chiefs used their traditional authority to enforce his will, it became still more
difficult for the Wesleyans to disobey. The alacrity with which the chiefs began [688]
flogging the people and interfering with their property showed what scant regard
they gave to the 1875 Constitution's curb upon their arbitrary power as well as
the Constitution's guarantee of freedom of worship for all. The brutal streak [181]
lurking in the pre-Christian Tongan temperament quickly reappeared. There were 797
many cases of horsewhipping, even of women, at the chiefs' orders. Recalcitrant 795
Wesleyans in Ha'apai were deported to uninhabited islands, Tofua, Kao, Tonumea. 798
The worst instance was the dispatch of eighty to the high island of Kao where 688
there was no food except sea-birds and shell-fish. These banishments were so
outrageous that, later, the orders of deportation were revoked.

After the funeral of Ngu in 'Uiha in March 1885, the king had stated publicly 643
his intention of going to Nuku'alofa and had given the end of May as the time 797
limit for all Tongatapu to join the Free Church. After then, he said, he would 795
bring warriors from Vava'u and Ha'apai, and those who held out against his 798
wishes would be hanged or banished. Similar threats were made by chiefs. Much 688
of this talk could be discounted as typical Tongan bluster and empty threatening,
but it boded ill for the Wesleyans.

The long-expected arrival of the king at Nuku'alofa occurred on 4 July; 643
he came with a fleet of over sixty canoes and a body of 1,800 men, armed with 797
rifles and axes. Soon afterwards a compulsory assembly was called for all 795
Wesleyans in Tongatapu to be held in the royal compound. Even the sick had to 798
be brought in carts, the order ran. A pre-dawn prayer meeting was held in Zion [644]
Church that morning. The prayers were highly emotional; and, when a new
hymn of Moulton's, based on the 23rd Psalm, was sung, "the rush of feeling was
overwhelming". The meeting was interrupted by the drum beating for the assembly.
The people almost rushed down the hill from Zion and filled the king's compound.
To his astonishment there were at least 2,500 Wesleyans, including his daughter,
Salote, and other members of the king's family. The Wesleyans had been told
to expect death and their emotions were geared to accept it. The king, evidently

[1885]

taken aback, only expostulated with the Wesleyans and then ended the assembly 797
without any punishment. This was an anti-climax. It also marked the peak of 795
Wesleyan resistance. 798 643

The failure of the king's assembly to quell the Wesleyans only spurred the 798
chiefs to more repression. While the Wesleyans were in Nuku'alofa, the men from 688
Vava'u and Ha'apai roamed the island destroying the Wesleyans' gardens. This 995
had a subduing effect on many who were wavering. The loss of food for a family 797
was worse even than a flogging. After this, some either genuinely or temporarily
joined the Free Church to escape punishment; others became Roman Catholics
for the same reason. The number of Moulton's supporters sharply declined.

On 20 July Tupou College grounds were invaded by warriors from the north 797
who prepared to carry away the students by force. Moulton came at once and 798
began to take the intruders' names as a precautionary measure; he was soon 873
supported by the British Consul and other Europeans. The king and Baker lost
little time in repudiating this action. However, Baker forbade any students to
leave Government schools and enrol at Tupou College without permission from
the Government, and this anti-Wesleyan measure caused a considerable falling off
in the College enrolment.

After the men from the north were sent home there was a lull in violence. 797
Baker was sensitive to the adverse publicity he was receiving overseas; then, and 798
afterwards, he put the blame on the shoulders of the chiefs. Thurston, Assistant [644]
High Commissioner, came in September 1885 and did so in a steamer, not the
warship which Moulton had led his people to expect to come to their relief. The
king had ordered their detention in Nuku'alofa for three months past. After Thurston
had been assured by Baker that there would be freedom of worship for all, the
people were sent back to their villages. Thurston's departure was followed by a
widespread rumour that he had told the king that he was free to do as he liked
with his own subjects. In Ha'apai, a letter, purporting to have the king's authority,
was circulated and was used to bring about the arrest of all the Wesleyans still
left in that group. The letter, which was proved to be a forgery, stated that
Thurston had blamed the Wesleyans for the troubles and had said that Moulton
would be withdrawn from Tonga. On the strength of these false statements, as Sir [688]
Charles Mitchell found in 1887, the Ha'apai Wesleyans were confined in the
Church compound in Lifuka for two months, "suffering considerable hardships —
this done, no doubt, by the direct order of the king . . . who was still in
Ha'apai".(60)

Although Baker had promised Thurston to restore Church lands and give 798
freedom of worship to all, he proceeded to enact measures in contravention of 688
this undertaking, laws more unjust and repressive than any others. In November [646]
1885, a pliant Parliament passed the notorious Law of the Six and the Law of
the Thirty. One forbade the holding of a Church service in any village which had fewer than six Wesleyan "genuine inhabitants"; this would result in the closing of many churches. The other forbade the appointment of any pastor in a village with fewer than thirty "genuine inhabitants" who were Wesleyans. It was alleged that these laws were passed in order to prevent Moulton sending preachers to villages to win back people who had gone over to the Free Church; and Moulton evidently was doing this in some cases. The obvious purpose, however, was to stamp out the Wesleyan cause altogether, as these laws would do, except in a few large villages. Mitchell blamed Baker for what he condemned as laws deliberately

[1874-1887]

king was "a man of strong will and independent character", and not under Mr. Baker's control. Tupou admitted that he regarded the Free Church as a "State Church", and he said it was the duty of loyal subjects to attend it.(67) Following this, the general inquiry was left to Mr. Justice Clarke, with the High Commissioner also questioning at times. The interrogation of witnesses lasted from 30 March to 23 April. The report and a record of the evidence was presented to the British Parliament in August 1887. 648 643 [645]

The High Commissioner attached great importance to the movement for Church independence and he regarded the response of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference in 1874 to the king's request for more local control as inadequate and as the origin of the troubles in the Church. A review of the facts in this present history, including documents not known to the High Commissioner, shows that the king was gratified by the 1874 Conference decision to set up the Home Mission Fund for control of local finances and by the appointment of local trustees of the leases of Church land. The High Commissioner, however, believed that there had been "an inadequate treatment of a well-founded complaint". He stated that, if Tonga had been constituted a separate district in 1874 as it was in 1881, the situation would have been different. There is justification for Mitchell thinking that 1881 was late, but it need not have been too late. What was not disclosed at the inquiry, but was indeed of vital importance, was the lack of confidence in Baker on the part of the Church in Australia during these years and their fear that, if the Tongan Church became independent under his control, his influence would be harmful. His conduct both before and after secession in 1885 amply justified these fears. Virtual independence was given in 1881 and this would have satisfied the king who said he had received more than he had asked. All would have been well but for Baker's vindictiveness towards the Australian Church and his bitter rivalry with Moulton upon whom must rest some of the blame for the disputes. 648 797 795 643

With regard to the events from 1885 onwards and the allegations of persecution and discrimination against the Wesleyans, the High Commissioner reached significant conclusions in his report(68), some of the most prominent being the following: 797 798

(1) "During these years" (1885-6) "the remaining adherents of the Wesleyan Church were unfairly, and in many instances cruelly, treated. During all this time I am bound to say that neither the king nor his premier showed any disposition to interfere. On the contrary, they appear to have sought by the passing of certain laws during the latter part of 1885 to intensify the difficulties under which the Wesleyans were labouring." (par. 27.)

(2) "I have no doubt that these laws" (Law of Six and Law of Thirty) "were meant to force the Wesleyans into obedience to the king's will . . . The oppressive action of this construction of the law [= 'genuine inhabitants'] cannot be over-estimated." (par. 28.) 797 798 643

(3) "Whether the king believed in the existence of a widespread conspiracy against him or not, I cannot say. I am inclined to think he did not. He, at any rate, acted as though he did, and by the advice of Mr. Baker, and contrary, as it appeared, to his own judgement at the time, he sent for the men from Ha'apai and Vava'u to come armed to him with all speed" (in January 1887) . . . "Mr. Baker admits that, viewed in the light of subsequent events, the advice to send for them was unwise." (par. 41.) 797 798 643 644

(4) "They" (the men from Ha'apai and Vava'u) "plundered the Wesleyans right and left, and distributed themselves in bands over the whole island for the double purpose of obtaining plunder and converting the Wesleyans . . . When, as in some cases it did, brutal ill-treatment accompanied robbery, the patience with which the Wesleyans [645]

[1887]

endured their troubles astonishes me, and I can only attribute it to the good influence and pacific counsels of Mr. Moulton." (par. 48.) 797

(5) "During all this time the requirements of the Constitution . . . appear to have been forgotten. The Courts had been ordered not to sit, and 'club law' appears to have been the only law of the land." (par. 54.) 798 643 [644]

(6) "Mr. Baker ended by declaring that he did not now believe that either the Wesleyans as a body, or the Tupou Collegians as a body, had plotted against him or the king." (par. 62.) [642] [692] [668]

(7) "The Constitution . . . has been utterly set aside, and the king's will substituted therefor. The theory of freedom of worship, so clearly laid down therein, has been practically a dead letter from the moment the king determined to support the Free Church." (par. 63.) [645] [642] [795]

Mr. Justice Clarke's summary ⁽⁶⁹⁾ of the evidence given before him included the following conclusions:

(i) "It is, I think, quite clear that there was systematic intimidation by the chiefs by means of *fonos* [= public assemblies]. . . . The instructions of Mr. Baker to Tungi and Ata, and the sense in which these instructions were acted upon . . . point, I think, to the conclusion that Mr. Baker knew what was going on, and did not disapprove." (p. 14). [622] [645]

(ii) "The sentence against Joel Nau, minister in Niua Fo'ou, five years' imprisonment and $150 fine for libelling the king was monstrous. . . . He was given an additional five years for saying that what the king wished was wrong." (p. 17.) [687]

(iii) "The Laws of Six and Thirty were undoubtedly most oppressively administered." (p. 17.) [688]

(iv) "The trial of two men by court-martial by Mr. Baker's orders was a distinct act of oppression, for which Mr. Baker is directly responsible." (p. 19.) [687] [645]

(v) "I do not think that either Mr. Baker or the king really tried their best to stop the plundering." (p. 20.)

(vi) "Mr. Baker knew that Ikahihifo was doing the flogging but neither he nor the king seems to have even admonished him." (p. 22.)

Sir Charles Mitchell summed up his findings thus: 645 643 648

"The conclusion to which I have arrived is not favourable to Mr. Baker; although great allowance must be made for the difficulties of his position in the earlier, and for the perturbation of mind (caused by the attempt to assassinate him) during the later, period. I should, undoubtedly, have exercised the power vested in me, under the Western Pacific Order in Council, of prohibiting Mr. Baker from remaining in Tonga for a period, had it not been that I felt his presence with the king, after the warning which my visit to Tonga has given, to be the best means of preserving peace. . . . I decided to show the king that the retention of Mr. Baker in Tonga would greatly depend on what the terms of the answer to my letter should be." (pars. 68, 69.) ⁽⁷⁰⁾

In this letter to the king (25 April 1887) the High Commissioner urged him —

(1) to grant an amnesty with the release of all political prisoners;

(2) to issue a proclamation "restoring, in the fullest degree, liberty to worship in accordance with conscience";

(3) to repeal the Laws of Six and Thirty or, at least, to alter the requirement concerning "bona fide residents";

(4) that "negotiations be entered into, with a view to again connecting the Wesleyan Church in Tonga, of whatever denomination, with the Wesleyan body elsewhere".

He offered his own "aid and influence" towards the attainment of union.⁽⁷¹⁾

Sir Charles Mitchell's good faith and his desire for reconciliation appear in the "Private and Confidential" letter he wrote to the President of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, on 7 May 1887: 797 795 648

[1874-1887]

> "The king, chiefs and people in 1874 felt, though probably in a less degree than in 797
> 1881, that they were fit for a greater degree of self-government than was accorded to 795
> them, and that the alienation from Tonga of so large a sum of money, without 648
> contributors having a voice in the matter, was unfair. Had the appeal of 1874 been dealt with in the spirit that the General Conference of 1881 brought to bear on a later petition, I have little doubt that all the recent troubles would have been avoided."

He went on to express his hope that a settlement would be speedily reached for reunion. He said:

> "If something be not done in that direction I see danger of Tonga drifting into the arms of some other denomination. I have already heard rumours of overtures being made to them. Mr. Moulton, I know, holds that the breach will close of itself if time is given it to do so but I am of a different opinion . . ." (72)

In the king's reply to Mitchell, on 26 April, he promised an amnesty, a 643
proclamation restoring freedom of worship, the amendment of the Laws of Six 798
and Thirty making residence of one year sufficient qualification; and he welcomed negotiations for reunion on the plan proposed by the New Zealand Conference (1887, p. 69, Minutes) if the High Commissioner would initiate these negotiations. He concluded:

> "I am prepared to promise that there shall be no more persecutions of Wesleyans because of their religion, and should any chief do so he shall be judged." (73)

The next three years would show whether these promises were honoured and whether there was a real hope of reunion or even freedom of worship.

---

**Footnotes:** 113

(1) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(2) Gordon, Sir Arthur, *Public and Private Life*, Vol. IV, p.158.
(3) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, p.205.
(4) Gordon to Chapman, Mission Board Minutes, 3 January 1881.
(5) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV. p.314.
(6) Cummins. H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, p.281.
(7) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, pp.381-4.
(8) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, p.370.
(9) Circuit Reports. F.W.C.
(10) Eggleston, J. W., *Papers*.
(11) Mission Board Minutes, 10 September 1880. M.O.M.C.
(12) ibid.
(13) Mitchell, Sir Charles, *Report of Inquiry 1887*, p.96.
(14) Oldmeadow, H. C., *Diaries*, 9 October 1882.
(15) ibid, 21 December 1882; 12 December 1883.
(16) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(17) Oldmeadow, H. C., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(18) Baker to President. Item 169. M.O.M.C.
(19) Moulton to Chapman, 2 January 1879. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(20) Minns to Chapman, 2 April 1879. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(21) Mitchell, *Appendix to Report in connection with the recent difficulties in, and the affairs of, Tonga, 1887*, p.79.
(22) General Conference Minutes, 1881.
(23) *Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record*, 28 May 1881.
(24) Waterhouse, J. B., *The Secession and Persecution in Tonga*, p.6; Rutherford, N., *Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga*, p.102.
(25) Correspondence, King and Moulton, 18 September 1881. F.W.C.
(26) *Tongan Papers*. N.L.C.
(27) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(28) Mission Board Minutes. M.O.M.C.
(29) Oldmeadow, H. C., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(30) Gordon to F.O., 15 July 1882, F.O., 58/177; Rutherford, ibid, p.120.
(31) Oldmeadow, *Diaries*.
(32) Minutes, ibid.

[1887-1888]

## Chapter XV.

# THE IRREPARABLE BREACH

Hopes had been raised in Australia by Sir Charles Mitchell's generous offer 797
to be a reconciler. His official letter to the New South Wales and Queensland 795
Conference expressed his hope "that the Committee will take such steps as may appear to tend in the direction of reuniting the Tongan Wesleyans to the mother society". He added,

> "The present opportunity, if promptly seized, will in all probability afford the best chances of reunion that may occur for years."

Unhappily, events showed that the High Commissioner was over-sanguine.

The Conference, through its Committee of Privileges, immediately decided to send a deputation to Tonga to see whether it was possible to repair the breach. The deputation consisted of W. G. R. Stephinson, then President of the Conference, George Brown, the new Missionary Secretary, and a layman, P. P. Fletcher. The Conference choice of Stephinson was appalling, even though he was President that year; and he must have been crazy to think of himself as a reconciler. Stephinson had not only been most antagonistic to Baker when he was 797
a missionary twenty years before, but he had recently written in the preface to 795
a publication, *The Persecutions in Tonga* (1886), issued by Moulton's colleague, 643
Crosby: [13]

> "With regard to the statement about the king's dotage" (made by Crosby), "I may state that before leaving Tonga . . . high chiefs including governors and the king's late son, David 'Unga, expressed with bated breath the same to myself on many occasions . . . The decay of his intellectual powers was such that he was now too easily open to ill-advisers." (1)

When the deputation stepped ashore on 27 July 1887 and asked for an interview with the king, Tupou at once said that he would not see Stephinson because of the published remarks about himself which he, naturally, strongly resented. Stephinson returned to Sydney on the ship that had brought him. It was almost too much to expect that Brown and Fletcher would make any headway in the climate of feeling prevailing at the time. They had many conversations with Baker, Watkin, and Moulton, before a final interview with the king on the eve of their departure on 12 August. Brown had visited Tonga as secretary to the 795
Chapman-Clarke Commission in 1879. He had advocated the removal of Moulton 797
at the 1884 General Conference and was generally regarded as leaning towards Baker.

Upon his return, Brown wrote to Baker in a conciliatory spirit, asking him to be careful about his actions before the 1888 General Conference, and especially about resuming Wesleyan Church land. Brown said, "There is a growing impression gaining here that you are determined to starve out the Church".(2)

The New South Wales and Queensland Conference received the deputation's report when it assembled in January 1888. The very fair and constructive recommendations moved by Brown were:

[1887-1888]

(1) That Tonga should be an Annual Conference, on certain conditions. 795

(2) That Moulton, who had requested some years before to be permitted to leave, should be now withdrawn from Tonga because 797

> "the king is so strongly opposed to Mr. Moulton's continued residence in Tonga and there is but little hope of his opposition being withdrawn or of this grievous wound being healed so long as Mr. Moulton remains in Tonga."

The first recommendation was adopted unanimously. The second was lost by 74 votes to 31. Moulton had many friends in the Conference and, also, it was known that the little Wesleyan remnant in Tonga, at the Tongatapu Quarterly Meeting, had unanimously asked for Moulton to remain.

In their recommendation that Moulton should be removed, Brown and Fletcher had reported that,

> "However unjust it may be, Mr. Moulton is still accused of having exercised upon the minds of the students and some of the people an influence against the present Government."

They added that there were only twenty students at Tupou College and they considered that Moulton's talents were wasted. [873]

Brown and Fletcher also favoured Conference status for a reunited Church. In this regard they pointed out that the Free Church was already a Conference, and that

> "the Free Church attached great importance to their having control of all funds collected by them."

On the other hand, it was reported, that the Wesleyan remnant objected to being handed over to the Free Church

> "in the present embittered state, arising from persecutions and wrongs which they have undoubtedly suffered." (3)

When Baker read this, he wrote to Brown (1 August 1887):

> "If, as you infer, there is a doubt as to whether the few followers of Mr. Moulton will agree to such a union, it is only but another proof that the position they hold is not one of religion but of political antagonism to His Majesty and his Government." (4)

Baker was occasionally in touch with Wesleyan ministers in Conferences other than New South Wales. Some of them had been critical of Moulton's obstinacy and were anxious to find a compromise that would facilitate reunion. Lorimer Fison, formerly of Fiji, wrote from Melbourne on 5 March 1888, suggesting to Baker that a plan be prepared for the 1888 General Conference. He naively thought that the first President of the reunited Tonga Conference might be appointed from Australia, with Watkin as his Vice-President, and after a time Tonga would elect its own President. Fison supported the removal of Moulton and Crosby and expressed his belief that Baker desired reunion. J. G. Symons, also of Victoria, the incoming President of General Conference, wrote to Baker on 11 April 1888, in a letter marked "Private and Confidential", stating that he had conferred with Fison and agreed with his proposal. (5)

When the 1888 General Conference met in Melbourne in May, there was great public interest in "the Tongan question", with crowded galleries. It was the first General Conference since the secession in 1885. The Church press reported verbatim many of the lengthy addresses. Responsible leaders in General Conference feared that the issues were seriously dividing the home Church as well as destroying the future of the Tongan Church. Baker had sent a letter, 23 April 1888, making the king's request (in Baker's words):

[1888]

795
797

(1) That the Free Church

> "be acknowledged as an independent Annual Conference in connection with the General Conference of the Wesleyan Church on the same lines as New Zealand and other Conferences bear to the General Conference", and

(2) That Mr. Moulton be removed,

> "as his presence in Tonga is dangerous to the peace and good order of His Majesty's Kingdom", with Mr. Crosby's removal also.

Above all things Baker wanted Moulton removed and he made the first request in reasonable terms as an inducement to secure the second. The degree of reliance to be placed on his good faith in the first request could be judged from what happened in Tonga when George Brown was Special Commissioner after Moulton had left.

Many representatives from the Victoria and Tasmania Conference spoke in the 1888 General Conference debate in favour of the king's request. Most of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference representatives were pro-Moulton. Moulton himself took a prominent part in the debate. He refused to answer old charges against himself. those connected with the 1883-4 trials, but he felt obliged to meet the strong accusation brought forward again by Dr. E. I. Watkin, of Victoria, namely, that Moulton had used an imprecation against the king. After a stinging speech from Dr. Watkin, Moulton again denied the charge, declaring that he had given only a warning to the king who was acting like Uzziah against the Church. One of the wisest statements in the whole debate came from Dr. Watkin — that missionaries should not engage in politics and that, if the Church had stopped Baker doing this twenty years before, all the troubles in Tonga would have been avoided.

In the course of the debate which lasted two days, it became evident that Moulton must retire, and he at last agreed. The final resolution, moved in tactful and felicitous terms by Dr. W. H. Fitchett, of Victoria, was as follows:

> "Conference recognizes the loyalty and courageous fidelity with which the Rev. J. E. Moulton has laboured for the interests of the Methodist Church in Tonga and deeply sympathizes with him on account of the trials and unjust accusations to which he has been exposed. . . . It consents to the request which he makes to the New South Wales and Queensland Conference through its President to be allowed to reside in Sydney and carry on his work of translating the Scriptures and other religious literature."

It was resolved also that Brown be sent as Special Commissoner of the General Conference, with instructions to report upon

> "the best means of securing an honourable and lasting union of the two Churches, and generally to draw up a scheme for the permanent settlement of our affairs in Tonga." (6)

Brown's report, after submission to a special committee, was to be transmitted to the Annual Conferences for approval and action without waiting for the next General Conference. So great had been the tension during the protracted debate that, when the resolution was accepted, many were in tears and the whole assemblage sang the Doxology.(7)

George Brown had already become conversant with the issues in Tonga. He was a missionary of wide experience, with strong convictions and sound judgment. He had done yeoman service in Samoa for fourteen years before pioneering the Mission to New Britain in 1875. In the Rabaul area, with no colleague except faithful Fijian and Samoan teachers, he established what became a large and successful Mission. In 1887 he became Missionary Secretary and, until he

[1888]

relinquished that position in 1907, he exercised a dominating influence upon 795
missionary policy, including the establishment of new Missions in Papua (Islands 797
Region) and the Solomon Islands. In his autobiography he stated his belief that his efforts towards reconciliation in Tonga were the most difficult but the most satisfying, for him personally, of all his missionary tasks. Unfortunately, his efforts were fruitless.

When he accepted the assignment to Tonga, Brown told General Conference that he would do his utmost but he did not hold out much hope of success. Although he had been regarded as a supporter of Baker, he was apprehensive about what was likely to happen in Tonga.

Brown could not reside continuously in Tonga because of his duties as Missionary Secretary in Sydney. Throughout the first period (7 August to 7 December 1888), he did everything possible to conciliate the Free Church party and in doing this he ran the risk of the Wesleyans fearing that he was being unfaithful to them. He attempted to cultivate friendly relations with Baker and Watkin. Moulton left on 11 August, with demonstrations of gratitude from all the Wesleyans.

After Moulton's departure Brown hoped for an easing of tension. However, 795
he was disturbed by the failure of the king or Baker to honour the promises made 797
to Sir Charles Mitchell. No proclamation of freedom of worship had been issued. 798
The general amnesty had not been given. Eight Wesleyans sent to the uninhabited 687
island of Tofua early in 1887 were still there. The exiles in Fiji had not been 688
recalled. Brown asked Baker several times about their return, without any response. Wesleyans sentenced to two years for refusing the militia oath were still imprisoned in Vava'u, although (when Brown reported this in his second visit in 1889) their sentences of two years had expired; these were the men whose conviction the Chief Judicial Commissioner in 1887 had said to be "a distinct act of oppression, for which Mr. Baker is directly answerable".(8) In addition, Brown found that Wesleyans were still subjected to "mean and cowardly persecutions", interference with their hours of worship, the placing of new Free Church buildings close to existing Wesleyan buildings (in some cases within 50 feet), and Wesleyans not being allowed to hold Government positions.

In the king's speech to Parliament on 21 November 1888, he expressed his 795
will for 797

> "the Free Church never to be governed from abroad. Should there be a time when it can be joined to the Wesleyan Church, in accordance with my request made to the General Conference at Melbourne" (in May 1888) "I shall be glad; but if not let it be so."

It was the last word of the old king regarding the possibility of reunion. Baker was responsible for both the king's speech and his communications with General Conference. What Baker actually was doing was the test of his genuineness rather than the words he put into the king's mouth so as to make a good impression. Everything Baker did was blocking reunion, as George Brown found. The 1888 message to General Conference and the 1888 king's speech, however, remained on record and found fulfilment in 1924 when the king's words were accepted by the Chief Justice of the day as validating the reunion that had come at last. It was ironical then that Baker's words had sealed the reunion of 1924.

[1888-1890]

In Brown's report after his first visit, he declared that, if union could be effected, 795 797

(1) Mr. Watkin and his ministers should be "recognized as fully accredited ministers in our Church." (p. 1.) (9)

(2) Moulton's removal had been justified and, if it had taken place years before, the Wesleyans would have been in a different position. Though they admired Moulton greatly for his work,

> "they all know that he was personally obnoxious to the Government and that their own sufferings and disabilities were increased by that fact." (p.11.)

(3) "There is no real desire for union on the part of Mr. Baker and Mr. Watkin. . . . They simply wish to absorb our people and have no wish for anything else." (p. 12.)

(4) The Free Church ministers were opposed to union because they feared loss of their positions and higher salaries. [793]

(5) The Wesleyans felt that they had suffered so cruelly that they could not, for some time at least, agree to unite. [798]

In Brown's subsequent visits (14 May to 15 October 1889, 21 March to 26 April 1890, 12 September to 12 November 1890), his hopes of a response from the Premier were completely dissipated. (He had been deported on 17 July 1890, before Brown's fourth visit.) During the second and third visits, the correspondence between the two men, concerning the continued disabilities of the Wesleyans, became almost as acrimonious as letters between Moulton and Baker had been. When Brown pointed out the difficulties arising from the proximity of new Free Church buildings to the Wesleyan, Baker, on 2 July 1889, wrote:

> "I had not thought they would create any difficulty in the future as I was in hope that at the next General Conference the two Churches would be united, a hope which your late visit to the colonies has destroyed." (10)

This remark showed Baker's resentment of the publicity given to Wesleyans' sufferings in Brown's addresses to congregations in Australia, after his first residence in Tonga. His assumed hope of reunion at the next General Conference was totally inconsistent with his actions.

So grave was the non-fulfilment of the promises made to Sir Charles Mitchell in 1887 that the next General Conference, in May 1890, in Sydney, resolved 795 797

> "earnestly to solicit through Sir John Thurston, High Commissioner, the good offices of Her Majesty's Government to secure the fulfilment of the promises made by His Majesty the King of Tonga to the late High Commissioner, Sir Charles Mitchell, more especially the proclamation of freedom of worship, the removal of existing disabilities, and the return of the Tongan exiles in Fiji and Tofua to their own land." (11) 648

This resolution was carried by 94 votes to five.(12)

Brown had gone to Tonga as a reconciler. He had accepted conditions patiently until it was clear that, as he said, 795 797

> "Mr. Baker had shown most plainly that he and those associated with him would be satisfied with nothing less than the abandonment of our people and the withdrawal of our Church from Tonga, and that for the accomplishment of this purpose a system of intimidation and coercion was being carried on." (13)

The opinion of the veteran, John Watsford, formerly of Fiji, who had visited Tonga in the General Conference deputation of 1885 and had recommended

[1887-1889] ✓

Moulton's withdrawal then, was impartial and clear. In his autobiography, he wrote, 795 797

> "Mr. Brown, who had always been regarded as Mr. Baker's friend, and to some extent his advocate, went on his mission, and did his very best to conciliate and to promote peace. His report still more seriously inculpated Mr. Baker than any that had gone before." (14)

* * * *

Baker had more than the interminable Church disputes to trouble him. In his political ambitions the Premier had hoped for German support; he had earnestly asked Weber to send a German warship on 26 November 1886. The *Adler* arrived at Nuku'alofa in September 1887, but the British warship *Opal*, sent by the High Commissioner, had anchored a few days before the German vessel which withdrew from the scene at once. The *Opal* stayed at Nuku'alofa until January 1888, the unusually long period indicating the delicate international situation and British concern about Baker's activities. The presence of a British warship for four months considerably worried the Premier. 645 648

After the *Opal* left Baker thought himself secure again. Soon, however, he was to fall, because in his arrogance he ventured to defame senior British officials. In maintaining his power year after year he had met many difficulties, but he had always cleverly outwitted his opponents. This could hardly last for ever. Perhaps the long and perilous confrontations made him reckless or seriously affected his powers of judgment.

Sir John Thurston had become High Commissioner in February 1888. He had been critical of Moulton and had given Baker some comfort in his visit to Tonga in September 1885. He had believed that the Wesleyan Church authorities in Australia had shown "violent and often unwarranted hostility" towards Baker.(15) Thurston had advised Sir Charles Mitchell not to deport Baker in the 1887 inquiry when Mitchell had wished to do this.(16) Baker's pro-German leanings, however, were still causing suspicions, although evidently the British authorities did not know at that time that Baker had requested a German warship to be sent from Samoa to support him in November 1886. Thurston was beginning to agree with Gordon in regard to Baker's unreliability.

The failure to honour the promises made to Mitchell, regarding freedom of worship &c., was a strong reason for Thurston's growing dissatisfaction. In August 1888, he declared [798]

> "he did not think there could be peace in Tonga while Shirley Baker was there." (17)

In this report, Thurston added,

> "The engagements of the king of Tonga set forth in his letter to Sir Charles Mitchell have not been kept nor do I think they will be so long as Mr. Baker remains in Tonga to direct the course of affairs." (18)

By April 1889, Thurston recorded that he had long lost all confidence in Baker.(19)

The Consul in Nuku'alofa, R. B. Leefe, who had endeavoured to be neutral and who had tried to restrain Moulton's persistent protests, had become convinced of Baker's lack of integrity and also the political dangers attending his continued tenure of office. He wrote to Thurston, on 23 April 1889:

> "I cannot see that any good can come in allowing Mr. Baker to remain longer in Tonga. If two years ago his influence with the king was of avail in moderating persecution — and I believe it was at the time for he was thoroughly frightened — I think his influence

[1890]

of women, led by the chieftainess who would have been Tu'i Tonga Fefine, 645
placed around Thurston's neck the garland offered to the Tu'i Tonga as a sacred 648
duty in ancient times.(23) 565

Baker's career of thirty years as missionary and Premier closed in humiliating 645 circumstances. He had many achievements in secular affairs to his credit — his advice to the king in earlier years, the draft of the Constitution, and his administration since 1880 which, in spite of the confusion of the period, had shown his executive ability and his flair for legislation in many fields. He might have prolonged his regime and added to his administrative record had it not been for his controversial policies.

The saddest legacy of Baker's thirty years was a divided Tonga, with memories of quarrels and persecutions that would delay any possibility of unity for many a long year. The old Tongan proverb was applied to Baker — "The string-ray has gone but the barb is left".

• • • •

The departure of Baker was acclaimed by the Church in Australia as a 795
vindication of the Wesleyans' cause; their jubiliation was not helpful to the 797
delicate situation in Tonga. Baker's removal made no difference whatever to the [645]
Free Church party. Sir John Thurston, writing on the day Baker left (17 July 1890), made this clear to Dr. Kelynack, President of the Australian General Conference —

> "The King and all the higher chiefs who met His Excellency appear firmly attached to the Free Church. Any indication of an attack upon it would, in His Excellency's opinion, be followed by a determined resistance." (24) [643]

Thurston believed that, if Tonga was recognized as a Conference, as recommended by George Brown, re-union was possible; but this, unfortunately, was an unsubstantial hope.

After Baker's removal the king readily assented to the return of the exiled 797
Wesleyans who had been at Koro, in Fiji, for over three years. They now numbered 798
130, including children. Sir John Thurston and his staff personally farewelled 166
them on the wharf in Suva. Tupou's daughter, Salote, was one of them. They [643]
returned to Nuku'alofa on 19 August 1890, in no exultant spirit, but with the Tongan traditional forms of humility and submission to the king. Some of the Free Church ministers who had often made pointed allusions to an imagined threat of British annexation went so far as to preach against the returning Wesleyans, alleging falsely that they had taken the oath of allegiance to the British Crown during their sojourn in Fiji.

That genuine religion could survive the bitter strife of the previous decade 771
was little short of miraculous. Religion had been indeed discredited in the eyes of many people, Tongans and Europeans. Basil Thomson, though not unbiassed concerning Missions, had grounds for his observation:

> "The Tongans, an intelligent people . . . have seen the Mission first support and then dismiss their Chairman for questionable practices. They have seen religion and the Churches made use of as a mere political instrument for the personal aggrandizement of one man. . . . It is to be feared that the Tongans, with whom religion has already become a mere form, will have little to show for the self-denying work of the early missionaries." (25)

[1885 - 1892]

It was soon apparent that reunion was impossible. The wounds were still too 795 deep for the Wesleyans, and the fomented fears of a foreign ecclesiastical affiliation 797 were too strong for the Free Church party. In 1894, General Conference resolved that there should not be

> "any continuation of the attempt to bring about a union of the two Churches . . . but to work quietly side by side . . . and by acts of kindness and conciliation endeavour to secure the present harmony and future union of the two Churches."

These were wise words, but the "future union" did not come for another thirty years.

The Free Church held its Annual Conference after the pattern of the 795 Wesleyan Conferences in Australia and New Zealand. Watkin was elected President every year. Baker attended as a minister and supported Watkin, from 1885 until 1889. From 1885 onwards salaries for Tongan ministers were fixed [465] at a much higher rate than in the Wesleyan Church. The full name, as stated in the Constitution of 8 August 1885, "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga", was used in the Minutes of the first three Conferences, but "Free Church of Tonga" was substituted from 1888, without any resolution authorizing the change. The 1888 Conference decided to send a donation for work among Maoris and Chinese; this was in lieu of missionary collections sent by the Wesleyan Church and a substitute also for giving workers for overseas fields. A branch of the Free Church was established in Samoa for the benefit of Tongans living there; it lapsed after a few years. Later, another branch was set up in the Lau group of Fiji for local Tongans.

Despite criticisms such as Basil Thomson had expressed about the state of religion in general, the small Wesleyan Church showed signs of spiritual strength as well as denominational loyalty. Persecution had refined the lives of its members. They also cherished the Moulton tradition of academic learning and biblical [771] scholarship, notwithstanding the element of elitism which this gave. In a different sense the Free Church, much larger, showed its loyalty as well as an elation due to complete local control. Whatever Watkin's motives had been for deserting his former Church, he was always anxious that Methodist principles and piety should be preserved among his people.

The Wesleyans were distinguished by their participation in overseas service. 797 George Brown, as Missionary Secretary, stimulated this spirit. Offers of service from ministers and pastor-teachers were readily made for the new Mission that Brown established in Papua (Islands Region) in 1891. Other Tongan missionaries served in New Britain and, later, in the Solomon Islands.

After the departure of Moulton (1888) and Crosby (1892), the Wesleyans generally had only one missionary. James A. Bowring, who arrived in 1890, was in charge of the Church from 1892 to 1895. James Egan Moulton, B.A., born in Nuku'alofa in 1869, and educated at the Leys School, Cambridge, with his uncle, Dr. Fiddian Moulton, and at Newington College, Sydney, followed his father in the ministry and served at Tupou College for seven years, 1896-1903 (and at times in 1893-6 before entering the ministry).

Dr. Moulton, absent from Tonga since 1888, made a brief visit in September 1891, when he met the king and was received cordially after the many years of estrangement. He was anxious to return to work in Tonga and, in November 1892, the General Conference Committee on Tongan Affairs discussed the matter at great length for three days and decided against his return.

[1892 - 1896]

It was significant that Sir John Thurston, and Leefe, the British Consul, were strongly opposed to Moulton's return although they knew that the Wesleyans desired it. Langham, Chairman of the Fiji District, also felt that it would be unwise. The High Commissioner wrote to the President of the New South Wales Conference on 29 March 1892: 797

> "The High Commissioner places on record his opinion and belief that the reappointment and residence of Mr. Moulton in Tonga will result in a reopening of the troubles and dissensions which were quieted barely two years ago. The High Commissioner is satisfied that King George would view Mr. Moulton's return as an act of unkindness, if not of hostility, on the part of the Wesleyan Conference . . . If Mr. Baker returns to Tonga, voluntarily or otherwise, and troubles arose, official action would certainly be embarrassed, perhaps neutralized, by the presence of Mr. Moulton. . . . If Mr. Moulton is returned to Tonga by the Conference and troubles arise between the so-called Free Church and the Wesleyan Mission Church, the Conference will have no just claim to the sympathy or assistance of that authority which it formerly invoked. Wilfred Collet, Secretary." (26) [643]

On 12 October 1892, the High Commissioner wrote to J. C. Symons, President of the General Conference:

> "Since the previous letter, the king has written to the High Commissioner stating that he does not wish Mr. Baker or Mr. Moulton to return to Tonga." (27) [643]

In view of these adverse opinions, the General Conference Committee on Tongan Affairs recommended the New South Wales Conference to permit Moulton to visit Tonga for short periods only. In the meantime, Moulton went ahead with his literary work in Sydney. Eventually the New South Wales Conference in 1895 [873] appointed Moulton to be Principal of Tupou College and Superintendent of the Tongatapu Circuit, but not to reside continuously in Tonga; he spent two or three months there in 1895, the same in 1896, and short periods in later years. In [795] spite of his conspicuous ability and intellectual gifts, the evidence reveals that Moulton had become personally objectionable to the Free Church people and an insuperable obstacle to any possibility of reunion.

It can be said now that Moulton's beneficial influence in the land he loved has outweighed the unfortunate effects of his prolonged feuds with Baker and his misunderstandings with the old king. Unwise though he had often been, and though the Wesleyan remnant had suffered for his indiscretions, he retained the unquenchable affection of his faithful followers. Not only was he a scholar from a family of scholars, a teacher of unusual brilliance, and a preacher of penetrating power. He must also have been a man of magnetic personality to bind the persecuted Wesleyans to him with strong cords of love. Outwardly his work could be found in his monumental translation of the whole Bible, a work covering nearly thirty years and completed with the publication of the Old Testament in 1902, his 264 superb hymns, his many other literary productions and musical transcriptions. Even more enduring was the quality of the ministers and laymen he trained. This quality stood out like the high islands of Kao and Tofua, in Tongan imagery. Moulton died in Sydney on 9 May 1909. A granite obelisk, erected to his memory, stands outside Tupou College Chapel today.

"The Grand Old Man of the Pacific", George Tupou I, passed away on 18 643
February 1893 at 96 years of age. It was thought that he had caught a chill
during his daily bathing in the sea in front of the Palace. There was general 643
mourning for six months. No work was done on the plantations, which resulted 765
in a serious food shortage. Time seemed to stand still in the little kingdom and the
loss of the central figure of the century left his people benumbed. No one could 643

[1890-1900]

Extraordinary in an ill temper and had given his father, Fatafehi, power to sign 648
on his behalf. At 10 a.m. on 19 May, the Treaty was proclaimed in public in 643
English and Tongan. In deference to the people's susceptibilities, the Union Jack 644
was hoisted on H.M.S. *Porpoise* and not on shore. Although Thomson had felt obliged to put pressure upon a reluctant king in order to secure the signing of the Treaty, his support for Tonga's independence was clear from his own words:

> "May the Protectorate remain purely nominal for many years. That rests with the Tongans. If they will abstain from squabbling among themselves, keep free from debt, and govern themselves decently, there is no reason that their status should change, though the history of little States is not reassuring. . . . I, for one, should be grieved if the last native State in the Pacific should pass away." (30)

Writing much later, in 1937, Thomson said:

> "Many years have passed but it is a satisfaction to me to know that the Protectorate that I negotiated has worked admirably and that Tonga has been comparatively free from the internal struggles that have beset so many other countries." (31)

* * * *

Shirley Baker did not appear again in Tonga for some years. After his 797
removal in 1890, he spent much of his time in Auckland where he had business interests. If he had been content with caring for these, he would not have aroused fresh suspicions from the Tonga Government and the British High Commissioner.

The ex-Premier spent several months of 1890 in Samoa, where he bought 797
some land outside Apia, inviting Tongan "malcontents" to settle there to await 648
the day when he could return to Tonga in triumph. His son and the son of the Rev. J. B. Watkin travelled between Samoa and Tonga several times in that year, for purposes indicated by an Ordinance of 9 January 1891, which forbade the distribution of papers likely to disturb the public peace.(32) On 31 December 1890 Baker suddenly left Samoa for the U.S.A. He was reported to be in Washington D.C., and to intend a later visit to Berlin "with the hope of exciting suspicions in both quarters that Her Majesty's Government have designs against the independence of the Tongan Islands and of procuring the interference in some form of the Governments of the United States and Germany respectively. There is no reason apparent to me why he should succeed. . . ." (the High Commissioner declared).(33) Baker was, apparently, firmly convinced that he could obtain American citizenship after six months' residence in one State (34), and also that he would be sympathetically received in Berlin. With the backing of the U.S.A. and Germany, he hoped to be reinstated in Tonga. Thurston concluded that, instead of spending his savings on a property in New Zealand, as had been expected, it seemed he would, "true to that spirit of bitterness and rancour which led to all the late wrongdoing and cruel persecution in Tonga", spend all his money on stirring up feeling against the new regime in Tonga. Thurston added that, if Baker did succeed in stirring up trouble on the death of the king, the British Government should intervene to "support and direct the Native Government".(35)

In 1893 the financial depression caused the loss of Baker's investments in 797
New Zealand. No one would forbear pity for him in the vicissitudes he experienced 795
in his closing years. In February 1897 he was in Tonga, fruitlessly endeavouring to be accepted as Tonga Government medical officer. Later in the same year, he sought, unsuccessfully, to be appointed as minister of the Free Church in Ha'apai. His wife died soon afterwards.

[1898-1900]

On 27 January 1898 a Government Gazette stated that the Free Church was a State Church, called "The Church of Free Tonga", with no connection with any Church abroad, and "controlled absolutely by the King, chiefs, people and Government". The Gazette added that "Tupou II consents to create the Free Church, with worship the same as the Wesleyan Church". This Gazette was not signed. Without any further documentary evidence available to elucidate the position, there may be a presumption that this was a method used to foil any legal attempts by Baker to claim compensation from the Free Church by changing its name and affirming its relationship to the State. 795

Baker settled permanently in Ha'apai in May 1898. The Free Church Conference, on 13 May that year, received a letter from Tupou II in which the king said that Baker had approached him about being a minister in Ha'apai. Watkin also had been asked by Baker about the same matter, and he had advised the king not to give Baker any appointment, "as it would not be in the best interests of Tonga".(36) Conference decided to make Baker a supernumerary that year and to leave his request for an appointment until the 1899 Conference. At the same time Conference received a letter from two chiefs, Jiosateki Tonga, the Premier, and Tungi, giving their view that there should be no European minister in the Church except Mr. Watkin. Conference replied that these chiefs should communicate direct with Baker.

The 1899 Conference met on 28 August at Vava'u. Curiously enough, the Minutes that year used the title, "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga"; evidently consistency in nomenclature could not be expected. Conference again had to deal with a letter from Baker, dated 28 August 1899. Its statements differed from what he had told Sir Charles Mitchell in 1887 when he disclaimed responsibility for establishing the Church. Now he stated —

> "I established the Free Church and I was its first minister, and I contend that I am still a minister of that Church."

He appended a copy of a letter from George Tupou I, written at Vava'u on 7 February 1885, three days after the Free Church had been set up, certifying that Mr. Baker was appointed a minister "of the new Church separated and independent from the Church in Sydney". In this letter Baker was given the right to appoint ministers, erect buildings, and incur debts up to $500 until the Conference was officially constituted (as it was on 8 August 1885). This letter of 7 January added that, if Baker ceased to be Premier, "he may have a salary according to his appointment or as a supernumerary". Referring to the decision of the 1898 Conference, Baker said —

> "It breaks the Constitution for any chiefs to be concerned with its ministerial matters" (evidently a reference to the letter received from Jiosateki and Tungi). "After fourteen years the Free Church has become an enslaved Church, enslaved to the Government" (a reference to the Government Gazette of 27 January 1898 making the Church a State Church).(37)

Unless he received salary for 1898 and 1899 within one month he would instruct his lawyer in Auckland "to institute proceedings for nine years' salary at $500 p.a. plus interest $10 p.a. since 1894, a total of $5,070". He said also that "because Mr. Watkin is a European he can be sued in the Consular Court". The alleged letter of George Tupou I and Baker's peremptory demands had no effect upon the Conference, and the next Conference, on 24 July 1900, summarily rejected yet another request.

[1900 - 1902]

The Prime Minister of New Zealand, R. J. Seddon, passed through Tonga 648
on a health tour not long after the Treaty of May 1900 was signed. He recorded 623
that both Tongan chiefs and European residents were disturbed about the country's 565
internal state.(38) The chiefs had told him that the king persistently refused to [563]
accept their advice. Seddon imagined that annexation to New Zealand might [643]
receive their support (39), but his wish was father to the thought. On the other hand, Shirley Baker, who had always represented himself as the champion of Tonga's independence, wrote to Seddon soon after the visit and gave his opinion that annexation to New Zealand would be "not only the making of the islands but will be a solution of many racial difficulties". Baker assured Seddon of his support for the scheme of annexation, and he also asked for appointment as "Resident" (i.e., New Zealand Consul for Tonga). He added,

> "I need not say I am quietly working for the annexation to New Zealand." (40)

Both at the time of his succession and in connection with his marriage, 643
Tupou II had met opposition from some of the chiefs. Tungi had expected that, 644
when both David 'Unga and his son, Wellington Ngu, died without male heirs, he himself, the inheritor of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line, might succeed Tupou I. There was more mortification for Tungi and his family when the young king broke his engagement to 'Ofa, a relative of Tungi and his son, Tuku'aho, the Premier whom the king had dismissed soon after his accession. Seddon (41) was told that the king's pride had been hurt when he heard it said that a marriage with 'Ofa would strengthen his position because her descent was superior to his own. Against the advice of many chiefs the king rejected 'Ofa and took as his bride Lavinia, the great-granddaughter of Laufilitonga, the last Tu'i Tonga.

Baker, rebuffed by the Free Church, took advantage of the dissension in 795
the family of Tungi to promote another Church, the Church of England, which
he named "The Church of Vikia" (Queen Victoria). After he had set up this [578]
Church in Ha'apai, its membership was augmented by the aggrieved relatives of 'Ofa in Tongatapu, and for them Baker began another congregation of the new Church in the main island. When the king inquired from the Bishop of Honolulu about Baker's canonical claims, he was informed that Baker had no right to wear a surplice or assume clerical privileges. Baker then procured a lay reader's licence from the Bishop of Dunedin, New Zealand.

Bishop Willis, who had been Bishop of Honolulu, began to show an interest in Tonga. He had lost his episcopate when the American Protestant Episcopal Church became responsible for Hawaii, following the annexation of the group by the United States. On 26 February 1900, Bishop Willis issued a proclamation:

> "To the high chieftainess, 'Ofa, with the chiefs and people of Tonga — We, Alfred, by divine permission Bishop of the Anglican branch of the Catholic Church of Honolulu, and called to exercise the ministrations of our office wherever they may be desired in the Islands of the Pacific Ocean, thank God for the desire that the Anglican Church may be constituted on a safe and permanent foundation among you so that from this time forward it may be the Church of the Tongan people."

His proclamation went on to express his opinion that Nuku'alofa should be

> "the seat of a Bishopric for the Isles of the South. You can prepare yourselves to receive the apostolic rite of confirmation through laying on of the Bishop's hands with prayer." (42)

Willis did not come to Tonga until 1902. His experiences were hardly encouraging. Baker's flock had almost disappeared. Willis antagonized Tupou II by his assumption that British interests should have precedence over Tongan.

[1900 - 1904]

The Methodist General Conference of 1904 deplored the action of Bishop 797
Willis in setting up the Anglican Church in a land long evangelized by the
Methodists. This, it said, was a venture "calculated to stir up dissension". However,
the General Conference did no more than make this protest. Since then the [871]
Anglican Church, supported mainly by European residents but taking also a useful [563]
part in the education of Tongan students in Nuku'alofa, has been on amicable
terms with the other Churches.

Shirley Baker died on 16 November 1903 in Ha'apai. His devoted daughters [645]
built a massive monument over his grave; the statue represents the ex-Premier [642]
holding the Constitution of 1875, which his friends regarded as his masterpiece.

At the Free Church Conference on 16 May 1901, another Constitution, 795
approved by the king, was adopted. There seemed to be no lack of new
Constitutions and new names for the Church. This was called "The Constitution
of the Church of Free Tonga, 1901". It stated that "while the king remains a 795
member he will be in contact with the Conference in all matters". The king was 643
to appoint the President and to have the right of approving all subsequent
Presidents. This Constitution followed the recognition of the Church as virtually
a State Church in the Gazette of 27 January 1898.

On 13 March 1900 Salote Mafile'o Pilolevu was born to George Tupou II 644
and Queen Lavinia Veiongo. The first reference by a European to the future
Queen Salote was made by Basil Thomson, who saw the infant princess, then
three weeks old, during his visit for the Treaty negotiations.(43)

In 1902 Tupou II became ill and it was feared that the illness would be 643
fatal. Seddon, Prime Minister of New Zealand, took this opportunity to cable
Joseph Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary, suggesting that Britain should be ready
to annex Tonga, but Britain declined to take any action.(44)

Queen Lavinia died on 25 April 1902, and Salote was given into the care 644
of a remarkable woman, Rachel Tonga, who was the widow of David Tonga,
Moulton's chief assistant at Tupou College in earlier years. Rachel was also the
sister-in-law of John Mateialona, a later Premier. In Salote's formative years,
Rachel Tonga's influence was profound, encouraging a Christian faith and
imparting to the princess a knowledge of Tongan history and traditions. As
chaperone, she accompanied Salote at the age of nine to Auckland where the
future Queen afterwards became a pupil at the Church of England Diocesan Girls'
School. In later years the Queen referred to her experience at this school in the
happiest terms. She was confirmed in Auckland and received communion in the [795]
Church of England, but her membership was always with her own Church in
Tonga.

In 1904 the Government's finances were in a parlous state, as they had been 652
when the Treaty with Britain was made in 1900. There was much criticism of a 643
foreign firm which had indue influence over the king, had a monopoly of
Government contracts, and lent money to the Government on its own terms. It
was alleged that the king used Government revenue to pay some of his personal
expenses. The Consul at the time, Hamilton Hunter, was contriving with some of 648
the chiefs to depose the king in favour of his father, Fatafehi Tu'ipelehake, who 643
was willing to save Tonga from any possibility of annexation by New Zealand.(45) 565

In December 1904 the High Commissioner, Sir Everard im Thurn, came to 648
investigate the position. He dismissed some Europeans from the Government for 652

[1904-1921]

unsatisfactory conduct. The Premier, Jiosateki, and the Treasurer, Fotu, were 648
deported to Fiji; they had been lax and had not enforced payment of taxes, it 652
was said, the effect of a hurricane being a plausible excuse. They were also
charged with corruption. Sir Everard even threatened to depose and deport the
king unless he ceased his financial practices. When this threat, given privately to
Tupou, was unheeded, the High Commissioner repeated it in the presence of the
chiefs, with the result that the king signed the Supplementary Agreement to the
Treaty of 1900-01.

In his address to the king and chiefs on 28 December 1904, the High Commissioner declared that the Premier's advice to the king had been

> "a disgrace: he [the king] had placed himself in the hands of a foreign firm . . . If you do not do what is right it is absolutely certain that my king will take your country away from you by force."

At the same time the High Commissioner conveyed to the king and chiefs the policy of the Colonial Office, given before he had left Fiji for Tonga, namely —

> "We are not working towards annexation but are making a genuine attempt to let the Tongan people govern themselves." (40)

The British Government gave a loan to meet Tonga's immediate liabilities.
By the Supplementary Agreement to the Treaty, 18 January 1905, the British
Consul was given a veto over expenditure and over appointments of Europeans to
the Tongan public service. The king agreed that lease payments from Government
land should be paid into revenue and not regarded as his own perquisites. The [642]
king promised also to abide by the Constitution in future and to rule with the [645]
consent of his Cabinet.

John Mateialona, a grandson of Tupou I, who might have been included in 645
the royal line of succession if he had not been a Wesleyan, became Premier in
1905, replacing Jiosateki, now deported. Parliament, which had not met since 646
1903, was called together in 1906, this being only the fifth time it had met since
the king's reign began in 1893. Even this Parliament, in 1906, lasted only eight
days. Mateialona made a reputation for probity as well as ability; he instituted a 645
budget system, rehabilitated the finances, and set an example of sound
administration that was followed by later Governments.

In 1910 a large co-operative company that had exported its members' copra 474
and sold goods in return went into liquidation. An inquiry revealed that the people 426
had been exploited. When the founder of the co-operative company, A. D. 656
Cameron, brought an action against the Consul, W. T. Campbell, and the auditors,
these defendants won their case through Mateialona testifying that his
Government's action in compulsorily winding up the company was taken in the
national interest. However, the king was displeased with what Mateialona had 643
done in this matter, and he was replaced as Premier by Tu'ivakano in 1912. 645
Mateialona was given a title of nobility as Tupouto'a in 1921. [554]

• • • •

At the 1916 Conference of the Free Church, J. B. Watkin celebrated the 795
50th anniversary of the commencement of his ministry in Tonga; he was then 563
nearly 80 years of age. His only European colleague during the 40 years of
separation from the Wesleyan Church was Edwin Harkness, a member of a
well-known Methodist family in Bendigo, Victoria, who came in 1910 and
ministered in Ha'apai for ten years before entering the regular Methodist ministry

[1901-1924]

in New Zealand. When Mr. Watkin visited Ha'apai in 1920, his ministers gave him an honour reserved in ancient times for the Tu'i Tonga and the Tamaha; ten black-coated Free Church ministers waded into the sea at Lifuka and carried the boat ashore with Mr. Watkin seated in it.(47) 795 563 [576] [643] [644]

It was sometimes hoped that the Free Church might co-operate with the Wesleyans in sending ministers and pastor-teachers to overseas fields. When Rodger Page, Chairman of the Wesleyan Church, made a request to Mr. Watkin in 1912 to persuade some of his ministers to answer an urgent call from New Britain and go together with Wesleyans, the appeal fell on deaf ears; and a discreet inquiry along the same lines from the Mission Board in Sydney met with no response whatever. 795 797

The disparity between the financial strength of the two Churches was marked. Visitors to Tonga sometimes commented upon the contrast between the large and ornate buildings of the Free Church and the poor properties of the Wesleyans. The fact was that the Wesleyans had the burden of their primary schools and the College, and they had a struggle to pay Tongan ministers and teachers a meagre allowance as well as support two or three European ministers and European female teachers. The Free Church, on the other hand, left education entirely to the Government; and, with its numerical strength, it was able to build and maintain its handsome churches. 795 797 794 [872] [873] [793] [658] [659]

Throughout the early years of the 20th Century the strength of the Free Church appeared especially in Ha'apai and Vava'u whereas, proportionately, the Wesleyans had a better following in Tongatapu. In 1902 the numbers for the Free Church were — Ha'apai, 4,883; Vava'u, 4,413; Tongatapu, 4,616. In 1923 their numbers were — Ha'apai, 6,416; Vava'u, 4,886; Tongatapu, 5,344. In 1911 the denominational statistics showed — Free Church, 15,968; Wesleyans, 4,055; Roman Catholics, 2,387.

* * * *

At nearly every General Conference the question of a possible reunion in Tonga was introduced, but with more optimism than knowledge of the position. Its messages in 1901 and 1904 were rejected by the Free Church. The 1913 General Conference wrote to Mr. Watkin asking him to bring the question of union before his next Conference, with the assurance that Free Church ministers and members "would be welcomed to the fellowship and brotherhood of the Australian Church". However sincere the motive, the expression was infelicitous. The message continued, 795

> "Should union with the Methodist Church in New Zealand" (recently separated from Australia) "be preferred, the General Conference will consider any proposal in that direction." (48)

General Conference authorized the President-General to take all necessary steps before the next General Conference (in 1917) for giving effect to the reunion proposals if these were accepted by the Free Church. This resolution was useless at that time; yet, as it transpired, the President-General in 1924 used the powers given in 1913 to endorse the reunion settlement from the Wesleyan (Methodist) side. When Mr. Watkin replied, in July 1916, to the 1913 General Conference's request, he merely said,

> "There are still grave difficulties in the way. The benefits of union would be very great but a forced union would greatly increase the difficulties."

And there he let the matter rest.

[1908-1933]

The question of union was not allowed to lapse with the new and vigorous 795
Wesleyan leader. Rodger Page devoted the whole of his ministerial life to Tonga 797
and church union. He belonged to a very well-known family in the town of Grafton, on the Clarence River in northern New South Wales. His father, Charles Page, was several times mayor of Grafton; he was remembered for his beautification scheme in planting jacaranda trees in the main avenues of the town. A brother of Rodger Clarence George Page was Sir Earle Grafton Page, physician-politician, founder of the Australian Country Party, and for some years Federal Treasurer. Page of Tonga, born at Grafton in 1878, shared his family's pride in the town and river as well as its love of country life. He became Tonga's greatest church leader in this century.

It seemed by accident that Rodger Page went to Tonga in 1908. Soon after 797
entering the ministry he offered for overseas missions and he was sent to a vacancy on the staff in Tonga. He spent a year as a bachelor with Charles Walkden Brown and family. Brown was a tempestuous genius, a keen preacher, a skilful musician who wrote several excellent hymns still loved by Tongan congregations. In his six years (1903-09), Brown made no secret of his dislike for the secessionist Church. On this issue he once had a violent public contretemps with a local lawyer, George Scott, afterwards Judge in the Land Court case brought by the Free Church dissidents after union in 1924. Page diverged completely from Brown's policy. He determined to seek reconciliation with the Free Church at almost any cost.

Page travelled extensively through the group, especially when he was free from home ties (he did not marry until 1912). In the small boats he suffered dismally from sea-sickness. The worst sailor in the Pacific, he was called; although of tough physical frame, he always became ill the moment he set foot on any craft, small or big. He was not the conventional type of Methodist parson. No one was more dedicated to the ministry than he, but he was a man's man, jovial, friendly. A winsome raconteur, he had a distinctive laugh. As he told his jokes, his laughter continued in seemingly unending gurgles. He loved the Tongans. Some of his colleagues in later years thought he went almost too far in indulging their whims and occasionally in extending loans; but he knew the people and his leniency alternated with firmness when this was called for.

He was essentially practical. His upbringing in a dairying district stimulated his interest in Tonga's agricultural needs. To this was allied a strong desire to promote education at every level. The splendid estate of 750 acres at Toloa, where Tupou College is now situated, would not have been acquired and developed but for his foresight and also his hard manual toil in planting the property.

Page preached in stirring idiomatic Tongan. He did not regard himself as a good preacher in English but a hard-bitten critic, Dr. J. W. Burton, declared that he could hardly remember any address of the same epic quality as Page gave to the New South Wales Conference Missionary Meeting in Sydney in 1933. But then Page's subject was the Tongan Church, its sufferings, its loyalty, its missionary exploits in Papua and the Solomons; and Page's strong emotions and his eloquence, with all the stops pulled out, were perfectly in tune with that theme. To see Page giving the sacramental elements to Tongan ministers and laymen at Conference was to realize the depths of his genuine feeling which probably no other European would have shown. He wept, and so did the Tongans kneeling at the communion

[1908 - 1946]

rail; he knew their weaknesses as well as their strengths; they knew he loved them 797
through everything.

Page devoted himself, year after year, to achieve reunion. He was diplomatic 797
in trying to conciliate Mr. Watkin and he did his best to co-operate with him. 795
In 1912 there was a severe hurricane in the northern islands; he went with [731]
Watkin to urge the king to devote some of the Government's reserves to finding
employment for people left destitute. Even when acting alone, he was always on [643]
the side of the Tongans. In 1910 he supported their cause against the British [648]
Consul of the day who, he said frankly, was "not the right type of representative of Britain".(49)

He was willing to take risks of giving offence when reunion was his ultimate aim. In 1908 there was a suggestion that J. E. Moulton, Dr. Moulton's son, might return to take charge of the Church when Walkden Brown was leaving; Mr. Watkin gave his opinion that such an appointment would be unwelcome to Free Church people, and Page agreed. Again in 1910, Page discreetly opposed Moulton's coming as his colleague because he knew how the Free Church party disliked the very name.(50) Samuel Roberts, son of the old founding Principal of the Government College, a Methodist minister in New South Wales, expressed a wish to be a minister in the land of his youth and said he believed he could help the cause of reunion; but there was an objection from the Wesleyans to his coming. Page found it difficult to keep a balance but somehow he succeeded.

It would have been hard to find any Wesleyan leader in the Pacific who evoked greater loyalty than Page. Even if a colleague occasionally differed on a point of policy, he would not quarrel with Page. And this was not only because of the history of sordid disputes on the Mission staff in Tonga in the 19th Century. It was Page's personality which made others follow him gladly and work with him for the realization of his hopes for the Tongan people.

Queen Salote did not know Page very well until the union negotiations began 797
late in 1923. For more than twenty years afterwards she found in him a perfect 643
confidant. His intimate and extensive knowledge of the people was exceptional among contemporary Europeans. As chaplain and unofficial adviser, he became invaluable to the Queen. Always he showed discretion, for the record of political interference by missionaries was a warning.

Page's wife died in September 1939, their only child was permanently in 797
Australia, and Page continued to serve alone in the land of his adoption. Serious ill-health compelled him to leave in 1946 and, except for brief visits in 1947 and 1950, he did not see Tonga again. He died in Sydney on 2 July 1965, aged 86; at his request his ashes were interred in his wife's grave in Nuku'alofa.

Page may well be considered the architect of reunion. Nevertheless, the 797
proposals would not have been initiated without the Queen. It was her influence, 795
based on her conviction that reunion was imperative that healed — even 643
incompletely — the breach that had seemed irreparable for forty years.

[1920 - 1924]

> either of them to lay hands on sacred things . . . It is quite clear that there is a big difference between the kingdoms of this world and the Kingdom of God." (1) 643

795

In 1923 an audit of the Free Church's finances was carried out. Chiefs who afterwards entered into union insisted on this. The audit disclosed that many accounts were missing and that there was no record of the annual missionary collections for 1920 and 1921. Paul Vi, Secretary of Conference, was alleged to have debited the Church with his personal expenses. Defalcations had occurred through many unauthorized loans. Some ministers had obtained goods on false pretences. The Queen, after this audit, wrote to Mr. Watkin, on 13 August 1923, informing him that many chiefs had complained to her about scandals in church administration. She said that the Privy Council had advised her that a clause in the Church's Constitution gave the sovereign authority to intervene in Church affairs and she had decided to call a meeting of chiefs and ministers which she asked him to attend.

From 10 to 14 September 1923 this meeting of Free Church ministers and chiefs was held at the Palace, the Queen presiding. After many charges were made by the chiefs against the administration of the Church the questions of reform and reunion were considered. Mr. Watkin agreed to restore the correct name of the Church, the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, and to enter into union negotiations with the Wesleyans. He promised to place these matters before the next church meeting, the Tongatapu Quarterly Meeting on 2 October. This Quarterly Meeting, attended by 500, unanimously resolved to accept the proper name of the Church and "to follow the Queen". Mr. Watkin reported the decision in those terms to the Queen. The specific point of reunion was not stated although "to follow the Queen" carried this implication.

On 19 October 1923, the Queen wrote to Page, as Chairman of the Wesleyan Church: 795 797

> "I desire to establish again on a proper basis the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga in keeping with the wish of King George Tupou I. . . . It was clearly the intention of Tupou I that there should be but one Church in Tonga. The miscarriage of the plan was due to the extremely unfriendly relations between the two European gentlemen who, at that time, were the leaders of the Government and the Church respectively. It does not seem to me to be God's will that the two Churches holding the same doctrines should be so divided. The spiritual life of Tonga has been retarded by the division and ill-feeling, and the proof is the absence of any revival such as in the early days of the Church in Tonga." (2) 643

The Wesleyan Quarterly Meeting of Tongatapu on 19 December heartily accepted the Queen's letter.

Page seldom wrote to the Church authorities in Australia; he was sensitive to possible interference, however well-intentioned. Now he felt that he had to give "the fathers" some inkling of the possibility of reunion. They had such a limited understanding of the actual situation, not realizing that Australian participation in the negotiations would be an obstacle, that they suggested sending representatives from Australia to take part.(3) Page politely declined this offer. He also warned them that other denominations were waiting to benefit from what they expected to be the "disintegration" of the Free Church, especially after the death of the aged Mr. Watkin, whenever that might happen.(4) 795 797

Up to this stage — and later, at the crucially important committee meeting in February 1924 — Mr. Watkin had given his approval to the project of reunion. On 22 January, he wrote to the Queen:

> "We trust that the blessing of God will be on you in this great task of uniting your

[1924]

> people into one Church so that the two Churches will be one Church called the Free 795
> Wesleyan Church of Tonga." (5) 797

On the face of things all seemed favourable. Nevertheless, Watkin was vacillating and distrustful. In his heart he disliked and feared the reversal of the policy of separation, and when, at length, he openly opposed the proposal there were lamentable consequences, for himself and the people of the Churches.

On 11 February Watkin sent to the Queen a letter of resignation:

> "If you will allow me I will resign from the office as President of the Free Church. I informed you some days ago that I am now very old and not equal to the work, and I desire to retire if Your Majesty consents. . . . Your Majesty is aware that by the Constitution a year's notice is required, but if Your Majesty desires that I should retire at once let me know your wishes." (6)

As subsequent events showed, he did not stand by this resignation, just as he did not honour his engagements to enter into union.

The Queen convened a Joint Committee which met at the Palace on 20 and 795
21 February. It consisted of Watkin, six chiefs and six ministers from his Church, 797
and Page with a similar number of Wesleyan representatives. The Constitution of 643
8 August 1885 was accepted, with the use of the correct name, "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga". This Constitution, as "amended and adopted" by the Committee, was signed by the Queen as Chairman of the Joint Committee, by Mr. Watkin as "President of the Free Wesleyan Church", and Page as "Chairman of the Wesleyan Church", and also Tungi. At the foot of this document it was stated that —

> "The following resolutions are also agreed to:
> (1) Requesting affiliation with the General Conference of Australia.
> (2) Permitting the use of both old and new translations of the Bible in public worship." [779]
> (This referred to the old translation by Thomas West, used in the Free Church, and Moulton's new translation.)

The advantage of the link with Australia was recognized by the Committee [609]
as securing a supply of European ministers and teachers. This was repeatedly emphasized in the months that followed; the Free Church had no European ministers (except Watkin) and no teachers; the Wesleyans had both. It was agreed that the Queen should appoint the first President of the united church and appointments in following years would be by Conference election, with endorsement
by the Queen. Regulations for the conduct of worship and for the holding of 795
Church property by trustees were agreed upon. The Joint Committee decided 797
that the first united Conference should be convened in the second week of April. Watkin confirmed this in a letter to the Queen on 24 February; afterwards, he spoke of delaying the Conference until July.

Knowing the urgency of the situation, Page asked J. G. Wheen, Missionary Secretary, to get authority for the Wesleyan Church to enter immediately into union. He did this before the meeting of the Mission Board in February, and before the New South Wales Conference (to which the Tongan Wesleyan Church was attached) also met in February. He requested that the President-General himself would give general approval of the terms of union. Page felt he was justified in doing this, but some of the advisers of the President-General (Dr. E. H. Sugden) doubted whether the decision of the 1913 General Conference (see supra, page 212) was still operative. Finally, the President-General gave the approval that Page had desired. At the New South Wales Conference satisfaction with the prospects of reunion was shown in the fervent singing of the Doxology.

[1924]

Some leaders thought that the President-General should go to Tonga to sanction 795
the union, but Page and his colleagues realized how inappropriate this would be. 797

Mr. Watkin was now adopting a completely obstructive attitude. On 22
March the Queen wrote to him about his interfering with the agreement to 643
exchange pulpits in the two Churches; the fact that such an exchange had never 795
occurred before indicated how real had been the separation. She wrote again to 797
Mr. Watkin, on 9 April, reminding him that he had promised to call the Free Church Conference in the second week of April and, so far, he had not done this. When no reply was forthcoming, she called upon him to resign from his position as President and Chaplain, and added that there would be a pension from the Government for his chaplaincy and also from the Church.

> "If [she wrote] with a willing heart you send your resignation you will receive a pension while you remain faithful to me and the Free Wesleyan Church." (7)

However, on 16 April, Mr. Watkin wrote withdrawing his previous letter of resignation, and stating,

> "I respectfully inform Your Majesty that I will certainly not resign from the position to which I was appointed by King George Tupou I and to that I hold." (8)

This was in answer to another letter from the Queen's Secretary, J. F. Tongilava, on the same date, 16 April, pointing out that he (Watkin) had not replied to the Queen's letter of 9 April and calling for his resignation "not later than 3 p.m. this day, April 16".

The aged President must have been acting on advice, but whose it is now 795
impossible to say. He had cancelled his agreement to union, because he would 797
not even tacitly admit that circumstances had changed and that union had become desirable. He had shown a strong aversion to Moulton's translation of the Scriptures and his hymns, although their use was to be left optional after union. He was, in actual fact, stirring up among his ministers the old animosities and the suspicions of affiliation with Australia, even though the documents showed that Tupou I had desired this.

Meanwhile, on 7 April, Page had reviewed the position in writing to J. G. Wheen:

> "At the meeting of the Joint Committee, Mr. Watkin voted for practically every motion, in fact I think there was only one motion that was not carried unanimously, and I had hoped there would be willing co-operation to achieve union but it has not been so. He has placed every obstruction in the way possible, and even gone so far as to ask his ministers to repudiate their vote which I am glad to say they declined to do — the first time in Free Church history that the ministers have dared to thwart his purpose. . . .
>
> "Without the Queen's zeal and statesmanship union would not have been possible. . . . The [643]
> Bible question was a burning question with Mr. Watkin and his Free Church folk. They [779]
> were desirous of prohibiting Moulton's translation; eventually we were able to induce them to accept the resolution permitting the use of both old and new translations in public worship and the use of both hymn books. When Mr. Watkin dies, the opposition to the new translation will die; it is too much Moulton for his stomach." (9)

Finally, Mr. Watkin convened the Conference on 16 April, but nothing was done for a week while he was endeavouring to tamper with the loyalty of those ministers and chiefs who favoured union and who had already indicated this to the Queen.

The Queen's patience was now exhausted. On 22 April she attended the 643
Conference. After addressing the members she handed Mr. Watkin her letter of 795
dismissal. In this letter she wrote — 797

> "It is clear to me from the Constitution of our Church that the sovereign is head of the

[1924]

> Church, and also from the legal advice I have received; and therefore I am pleased to 795
> inform you that I shall attend this morning that we may meet in the Conference." (10) 797

In her address she reminded him of his letter of 11 February offering to resign, 643
an offer he had made known to the people. She outlined his breaches of the agreements he had given at the Joint Committee of 20-21 February, and his efforts to persuade ministers to withdraw their consent to union. She also gave a brief review of the lack of control in the Church and its maladministration in recent years. She reminded Mr. Watkin of her letters of 9 and 16 April, and added,

> "I have done my utmost to make things easy for you. . . . You have broken the appointment, together with some clauses of the Constitution. Therefore I declare that the appointment no longer holds and is annulled from the time at which you receive this letter and it shall be as if it never was." (11)

After Mr. Watkin had read the letter he said he would go home, and he walked out of Conference.

In the ballot which followed, Conference elected Setaleki Manu as President 795
and Kisi Taulani as Secretary. On the next day, 23 April, the roll-call of 797
ministers showed that some who supported Mr. Watkin had left the Conference. The Minutes that day recorded, in answer to the question, "Who become Supernumeraries?" "Mr. Watkin", with the compassionate addendum, "because of age". The Minutes also declared that, as far as the ministers from Ha'apai were concerned, "All of them have sailed for Ha'apai". That district became a strong [578]
centre of opposition to union. Altogether, seventeen ministers were informed of [793]
their dismissal because of their absence from Conference sessions.

Conference also called upon Mr. Watkin to attend and to answer charges of maladministration. This showed a new and unnecessary harshness. Nothing followed this demand but sympathy was beginning to appear for an aged minister who, it was said, had been summarily and unwarrantably dismissed by the Queen; Mr. Watkin's broken promises and obstructions were not known to many who rallied to his side. Conference, however, erred in this harsh resolution against the old President.

On the same day, 23 April, Mr. Watkin sent a letter to the Queen:

> "I will not relinquish this appointment, and if any strong measures are taken against me, I shall appeal to the British Consul for protection." (12)

His son-in-law, Mr. J. W. Masterton, was Acting Consul at the time, during the absence of Mr. Islay McOwan on furlough. At no time was there any evidence of "strong measures" against Mr. Watkin.

Conference, through the Secretary, Kisi Taulani, wrote to Mr. Watkin —

> "Conference has decided that Mr. Watkin has vacated his position and Setaleki Manu has been elected President. Setaleki and the ministers and representatives send their respects to you and trust you will be agreeable to the resolutions of the Conference and deliver the office and the key of the safe." (13)

This was the action of ministers and laymen who had never before given anything but unquestioning obedience to Mr. Watkin's decisions. He refused to deliver the keys.

Mr. Watkin wrote to Mr. Masterton (on 23 April) —

> "I have received a letter from the Conference with a demand that I must give up all belongings to the Church without delay. So I request your advice and protection as British Consul — as I am a British subject. Yours respectfully, J. B. Watkin." (14)

There is no indication of any action taken in response to this letter.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1924]

On 28 April Conference agreed to the Constitution of 8 August 1885, and voted in favour of union and of affiliation with the General Conference. The total number of ministers dismissed was now 25, most of them for leaving the Conference. Two were dismissed for misappropriating money in their circuits. Twelve new ministers were appointed, and all probationers were raised to full status. None of these had received any theological training; and such an accession of numerical strength blocked the path of any new candidates for the ministry for several years. 795 797 793

On 7 May the Wesleyan Synod (District Meeting) agreed to enter into union. This meant the legal extinction of the Wesleyan Church and the absorption of its members and property by the Free Wesleyan Church. A few Wesleyans were reluctant to unite; some older members found it hard to forget the days of persecution, and others were proud of their training and experience (the elitism which had proved a rock of offence in the earlier years of Tupou College). Page effectively used his persuasive powers and unanimity was reached. 795 797

During these confusing days an official authorization came from Australia, over the signature of Dr. Sugden, President-General:

> "I hereby agree to, and authorize, the union of the Methodist Church in Tonga and the Free Church of Tonga and to the Constitution of the United Church in Tonga as a separate Annual Conference, associated with and a part of the Methodist Church of Australasia."

These phrases, which seemed natural to Church leaders in Australia, gave concern to the advocates of reunion in Tonga where the nature of the link with Australia was a matter of contention and called for careful explanation. Dr. Sugden added,

> "For the present, the Constitution of the Annual Conference of Tonga shall be upon the basis arrived at by the Joint Committee in Tonga, provided that the Constitution shall be subject to such readjustments by the General Conference as may be necessary to bring it into harmony with the Constitution, Laws and Regulations of the Methodist Church of Australasia, all such readjustments to have been previously submitted to the Annual Conference in Tonga." (13)

When Page received this formidable authorization, he perceived the dangers. He cabled to Dr. Sugden:

> "Litigation pending. Will you assure that adjustments Tonga Constitution as stated in authorization to harmonize with Methodist law must not only be submitted to but approved by the Tonga Conference. Also General Conference will not pass laws affecting Tonga to which the Tonga Conference does not consent."

The reply stating that Tonga would have the full powers of an Annual Conference was too general to be helpful in the court actions that ensued. A strict legalism in the minds of J. G. Wheen and other leaders hindered their imagination; clearly they should have agreed to accept whatever the united church in Tonga decided. Their rigidity was the more regrettable because, actually, the General Conference, neither then nor since, has ever passed any resolution or made any law contrary to the will of the Tonga Conference. Every law and every amendment to its Constitution, passed by the Tonga Conference, has been accepted by General Conference without question since the day when reunion was effected in Tonga fifty years ago.

The united Conference met on 21 May. The Queen was in attendance, together with Setaleki Manu, Kisi Taulani, seventeen other ministers, and 15 lay representatives. The Wesleyans entered the Conference that day — Page and three other European ministers, 14 Tongan ministers and 10 lay representatives. These 795

[1924]

ten included the nobles, Tungi, Ata, Tupouto'a, and 'Ahome'e. On the Free 795
Church side, Finau 'Ulukalala, Speaker of Parliament, attended Conference for [578]
part of the first two days and contributed to the discussions before leaving and
becoming chairman of the executive committee of the dissidents. He was the only [565]
noble out of 33 who did not support the Queen.

The first business of the united Conference was the acceptance of the pivotal
document, the Constitution of 8 August 1885, with an historical introduction
reviewing the work of John Wesley in England, the coming of John Thomas, the
work of the early missionaries, the establishment of the Free Wesleyan Church
by Tupou I, and the present absorption of the Wesleyan Church in the Free
Wesleyan Church. This historical statement was signed by the Queen, Setaleki
Manu, Kisi Taulani, and Tungi. The names of the sixteen Major Trustees of the
Church property according to the Constitution still included that of Finau
'Ulukalala. An interesting innovation in the full Constitution now adopted was 795
the provision that, if a European minister was found by the Tonga Conference 793
to be guilty of any offence, he could appeal to the General Conference, but, if he
was acquitted there, Tonga could, nevertheless, ask for his removal and would
trust General Conference to accede to such a request. This was an echo of the
deplorable charges and counter-charges in the sad days of Baker and Moulton
and it sought to prevent any repetition. This document, signed on 30 May, was 795
afterwards published throughout Tonga. It is still the Constitution of the Church
and is a reminder of the labours of the Queen, Tungi, and Page.

For many weeks, indeed for some months, the excitement in Tonga was
intense. A report sent to the Press in Sydney and Auckland stated that there was
physical violence; "Tonga on the verge of civil war" was one newspaper heading.
This was an absurd exaggeration of the only incident of violence which occurred [579]
in Vava'u where one man was hurt in a fracas. In natural agitation J. G. Wheen
cabled to Page for information; Page replied, "Whole report tissue lies, everything
peaceful". Notwithstanding this, the leaders of the union cause were shocked at 578
the widening division that followed Mr. Watkin's repudiation of his agreement to 795
unite.

A petition, signed by over 2,000, was sent to the High Commissioner in
Fiji through the Acting Consul, Mr. Masterton, Watkin's son-in-law. An Auckland
lawyer, Mr. Moody, was engaged for this party and he landed on 8 May. By the
same steamer the pro-union party brought Mr. Crompton, K.C., from Fiji. Mr.
H. C. Stronge, Chief Justice, returned from leave at the same time, and so did the
Consul, Mr. Islay McOwan. Before Mr. Stronge's return, Mr. George Scott, Land
Court Judge and Acting Chief Justice, wrote to Page stating that Watkin and 27
ministers had complained to him about church buildings not being available for
their use. On the return of the Chief Justice, an interim order was made giving
Mr. Watkin's party joint use of the buildings with the pro-union party, pending
litigation. This interim order was interpreted by Mr. Watkin's followers as a
victory.

During the reunion negotiations and the litigation there was much criticism 795
of the union movement from some European residents. Some of them had benefited 563
from the unsupervised trading activities of the old Free Church and they realized
that conditions so favourable to them would cease in a well-ordered united Church.
Page, once very popular with the Europeans, fell unjustly under criticism.
Nevertheless, he persevered, respected by those Tongans and Europeans who knew 795

[1924]

the facts, and increasingly admired by the old Free Church people in the united 795
Church because of his fairness and kindliness. He convinced them that, contrary to the false reports freely spread, they had not been trapped into union nor led back to an imaginary state of servitude to an overseas church. Emotionally charged criticisms against the Queen herself for dismissing the aged Mr. Watkin were accepted by many who did not know what Mr. Watkin had done. Page, who knew every detail, summed up the situation in a later letter to Wheen (19 July 1924):

> "Had we suspected that Mr. Watkin would not carry out what he had openly supported and advocated, we would not have gone on with union." (16)

Though chagrined indeed because of what had happened, Page was outwardly cheerful. He was too optimistic in fact. On 7 May he had written to Wheen, in reference to the defection of Mr. Watkin's party —

> "I feel that we shall have a healthier and better united Church because of this happening, though we may possibly lose a small minority."

On 28 May, he wrote:

> "Only a very small section is standing with Mr. Watkin."

In another letter (28 June) he told Wheen:

> "We carried out in a worthy way the arrangement mutually agreed to. Why Mr. Watkin, at half past the eleventh hour, decided to go back on the proposals to which he had agreed and subscribed and tried to hold back the Free Church, I do not yet know. The fact remains that he has only been able to persuade one-eighth of the people to halt, and that is sufficient proof of the goodwill of the people towards union."

On 19 July, he seemed even more hopeful —

> "Mr. Watkin's withdrawal has only affected a small minority, and should the verdict of the Court be with the majority then the minority will fizzle out in less than three months." (17)

Unhappily for Page, when numbers were available later, in 1926, as against 16,000 adherents in the Free Wesleyan Church (nearly one-third of these being former Wesleyans) there were 4,000 in the continuing Free Church; and these anti-unionists grew in numbers as time went by.

* * * *

The old Free Church had held no leases. The Wesleyans had their leases 795
which they gave to the united Church. A test case was brought before the Land 427
Court Judge, Mr. Scott, for judgment on the Free Church land at Ma'ofanga 694
where, it was said, the chief Fakafanua (then deceased) had made over the land 698
to the Church by a verbal gift. It was also contended by the plaintiffs, through their counsel, Mr. Moody, that the united Church was in fact a new Church founded in 1924 and, therefore, distinct from the old Free Church. Furthermore, it was said that, by its association with the Methodist Church of Australasia, the Free Wesleyan Church had violated a fundamental principle of its establishment by George Tupou I in 1885. To support this contention, the document, signed by the old king alone, dated 4 January 1885, was submitted as the constitution of the "Free Church". This paper had been in the possession of a daughter of the late Shirley Baker.

In the course of the Land Court case the united Church was able to 795
establish that the legal constitution was that of 8 August 1885, signed by the king, 695
Baker, Watkin himself, and various chiefs and ministers, and confirmed by the

[1924]

first Conference with Mr. Watkin as President; that the seal "Free Wesleyan 795 ●
Church, 1st Conference 1885" had been used on all early appropriate documents; 695
that the baptismal service book in use after that date had the same name, and so had the class book, with Mr. Watkin's preface; and that the Joint Committee on 20-21 February 1924 had agreed to union with Mr. Watkin signing as "President of the Free Wesleyan Church". Documents showing the desire of Tupou I for affiliation with an Australian Conference were submitted to the court.

On 21 June the Land Court (Mr. Scott) decided in favour of Mr. Watkin's 795
party. An appeal to the Privy Council was immediately lodged by Setaleki Manu 695
and the pro-union party. As the Chief Justice was the only legal member of the 645
Privy Council, the High Commissioner in Fiji was asked to send a qualified officer to sit on the Privy Council. Mr. J. S. Neill, barrister-at-law and registrar of the Supreme Court of Fiji, was sent. The Tongan members of the Privy Council, all to some extent concerned in the union proceedings, decided not to sit at the hearing of the appeal — with the exception of the Queen herself, who held to her constitutional position as President of the Council. Mr. Ellis, new counsel for the respondents (Mr. Watkin's party) objected to the Queen sitting, as well as to the two non-legal European members of the Council. When his objections were overruled, he withdrew from the case. Mr. Neill, afterwards British Consul in Tonga, has recorded his impressoins of the Queen's silent but thoughtful conduct during the proceedings.(18) Mr. Crompton, K.C., contended that Mr. Watkin and his friends deliberately chose the Land Court for their test case instead of the Supreme Court (before the Chief Justice, Mr. Stronge) because they knew that Mr. Scott had made statements in their favour before the hearing began. He also stated that Mr. Moody (counsel before the Land Court) and he (Mr. Crompton) had discussed the proceedings anticipated for the Supreme Court, and not the Land Court. The documents, in addition to those submitted to the Land Court, on which Mr. Crompton chiefly relied, were mentioned in the judgments of the Chief Justice and Mr. Neill.

On 11 September, by a unanimous decision, the Privy Council upheld the appeal. The Chief Justice, Mr. H. C. Stronge, and Mr. Neill gave separate judgments. Mr. Stronge referred to the Free Church of Scotland case before the House of Lords in 1904, where it was determined that a fundamental principle of the founders of a Church should not be violated in any subsequent union. In the case of Tonga, His Honour said, it was clear that, when George Tupou I established the Free Wesleyan Church, he desired that it should be affiliated with the Church in Australia, if it had its own Conference. This was expressed in the documents produced by Mr. Baker on 7 April 1887, before Sir Charles Mitchell, when Mr. Baker was keen to show that the Church was still essentially Wesleyan in nature. Mr. Baker himself had then said, on the king's behalf:

> "There was no difference whatever between the discipline of the two Churches. At the first Conference of the Free Wesleyan Church it was decided that the book of discipline now in use by the Australian Wesleyan Church be the book of discipline in the Free Wesleyan Church. The same mode of worship was to be used. . . . What the Church wants is to be acknowledged as an independent Conference, to manage its own finances . . . and yet to have some organic connection with one of the Wesleyan Conferences. It was not entire severance from the Methodist Church which His Majesty wanted but the independence of the Church, for it was well known there must be a perpetuity of white ministers in Tonga and that could be obtained only by being acknowledged by some other Church. Should ever any one of the Wesleyan Conferences so acknowledge the Free Church I consider that will end all the present disturbances, and the two Churches may then be united."(19)

[1924-1925]

The Chief Justice also quoted the letter to the General Conference, 23 April 1888, 795
and the king's speech when opening Parliament on 21 November 1888. (See 695
supra, pp. 196-7-8.) 645

By these judgments the Queen's action was completely vindicated in law. 795
However, the expectation that the dissentients might return to the Church was 578
not realized. Union had failed to win the assent of nearly one-third of the old Free Church. After judgement was given in favour of the united Church, an offer was made immediately to Mr. Watkin's party for the joint use of the buildings in all villages where the secessionists had six or more adherents, for at least twelve months; this included two Sunday and two mid-week services. The offer met with a blunt refusal, an indication in itself of the intensity of the prevailing feelings.

Mr. Watkin and his associates wished to appeal to Britain; but the High Commissioner pointed out that the Privy Council of Tonga was the final court of appeal and Britain had no power to intervene. In announcing this decision of the British Government, on 20 December 1924, the High Commissioner added his plea that the Tongan people support the Queen in "her earnest desire to secure national unity". Such words had no apparent effect. Nor did the death of Mr. Watkin influence those whom he had led out of union to reconsider their position. It was on 23 January 1925 that Mr. Watkin died, in his 88th year. He was born in Ha'apai in 1837, son of the missionary, James Watkin. He had been in the ministry for 59 years, practically the whole of that time in Tonga. There was no doubt of his attachment to the Tongan people nor of this faithfulness to his ministry.

A last effort to obtain British intervention was made by Finau 'Ulukalala on behalf of the anti-union party. He led a deputation to the High Commissioner,
Sir Eyre Hutson, when he visited Nuku'alofa on 7 August 1925. The High [648]
Commissioner reminded him that the Tongan Constitution would not allow any review of the judgment of the Privy Council and that the refusal of the British Government to interfere in Tongan affairs had been communicated to the people in December 1924. This answer was final.

---

**Footnotes:** 113

(1) Watkin, *Journal*. F.W.C.
(2) The Queen to R. Page, F.W.C.
(3) Mission Board, *Minutes*, 2 November 1923. M.O.M.C.
(4) Page to J. G. Wheen, Missionary Secretary, 11 February 1924. F.W.C.
(5) Watkin to The Queen. F.W.C.
(6) Watkin to The Queen, 11 February 1924. F.W.C.
(7) ibid, 9 April. F.W.C.
(8) ibid, 16 April. F.W.C.
(9) Page to Wheen. F.W.C.
(10) The Queen to Watkin, 22 April. F.W.C.
(11) ibid. F.W.C.
(12) Watkin to The Queen. F.W.C.
(13) Kisi Taulani, Conference Secretary, to Watkin. F.W.C.
(14) Watkin to Masterton. W.P.H.C.
(15) Dr. Sugden to Page. F.W.C.
(16) Page to Wheen, 19 July 1924. F.W.C.
(17) ibid. F.W.C.
(18) Neill, J. S., *Ten Years in Tonga*.
(19) *Appendix to Sir Charles Mitchell Report*, 1887, p.144.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

## *Chapter XVII.*

# A "CHIEFLY CHURCH", ITS STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS

Page and his friends had hoped that the Queen's persistent promotion of the 795
union cause would have been fully successful, but this hope was not realized. Many Free Church followers had a rooted objection to uniting with the Wesleyans, whether Mr. Watkin was still their leader or not, and though this meant flying in the face of the Queen's wishes.

Page spoke very often about the united church as "The Church of Tupou" 795
and obviously played upon the Tongan traditional deference to the sovereign. 643
He must have realized, as the years went by, that there had been too much dependence on royal prestige. The Queen's stirring addresses to the Conference every year, her very helpful advice regarding the annual stationing of ministers, her intimate concern with all church affairs — all these elements built up the strength of the Church. On the other hand, they contributed a weakness, even though this was hardly recognized at the time.

Should the will of Tonga's highest chief have been so decisive in Church affairs? Even with a most devout and sagacious Queen was there not a danger of hindering the freedom of the Church? Tonga had been, from time immemorial, a land where the chiefs had unlimited power. Its Church had become a "chiefly Church". From the time when Taufa'ahau espoused Christianity the missionaries had felt that their fortunes rose and fell with the king's feelings and favour. He supported them; then he was estranged from them; again he was reconciled to them; still later, he dictated a policy that split the Church asunder. The people who joined the Free Church in 1885 did so because it was the king's Church and because his will was so manifest.

In 1924 reunion was represented not as the will of the sovereign in the same way nor with the duress used in the secession of 1885. Yet, although the Queen strongly desired her people to follow her, many refused.

Why was the Queen only partially successful? As soon as it was clear that 795
she gave freedom of choice to everyone, some chose the opposite course to hers, 643
and more went in that direction as time went on. Even the publication of the 578
Privy Council judgments, with the documents showing most Tongans, for the first time, what the old king's policy really meant, seemed to make little impression on the opponents of union. There was a basic dislike of their old rivals, the 795
Wesleyans. Family quarrels and personal jealousies were powerful influences 578
always in Tongan society. Religion, most unfortunately, was too readily expressed in a party spirit which had no relation to doctrinal issues. Many refused to forsake bitter memories of the past. Apart from these psychological barriers, there was a strong desire to control their own Church and manage its finances without Europeans on the staff, and without the suspected relationship with Australia — though this suspicion was shown to be groundless. Furthermore, the old rivalry

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1925- 1926]

Furthermore, the old rivalry
between the Government College (the stronghold of the Free Church throughout 795
its history) and Tupou College had much to do with the divided Church. Then, 578
too, the Free Church ministers who refused to unite wanted to keep their positions [873]
and privileges, and this feeling became stronger as years went by. [793]

It said volumes for the Queen's restraint and fairness that, although she 795
must have been grieved by the non-fulfilment of her desires, this did not affect 578
her outwardly. She continued to show the same regard for those who opposed 643
her wishes as for those who had followed her in the united Church.

The 1925 Conference elected Page President, a position to which he was 795
re-elected every year afterwards without question. The Secretary of Conference
in 1925 was John Havea, senior tutor at Tupou College, and a conspicuous
example of the reconciling spirit that had brought the Wesleyans into union; he
was re-elected to that position until his death in March 1942.

When forwarding a copy of the Constitution of the Church to the President- 795
General on 18 February 1925, Page referred to the 643

> "mode of election of the President of the Tongan Conference. It will be seen that provision has been made for the exercise of the royal prerogative. While this is a departure from Methodist custom we feel that it is a necessary safeguard, the value of which can be appreciated only by those with a knowledge of existing circumstances in Tonga." (1)

Page was sincere in this belief and he could give reasons for "the royal prerogative" in the early days of union. Since then it has been difficult to see justification for a departure from the theological principle of "the Crown Rights of the Redeemer" in the Church.

Page's fear of another development which did not materialize appeared in his 795
letter to the ex-President-General, Dr. A. McCallum (29 June 1925):

> "The non-unionists still continue their existence as a Church. After Mr. Watkin's death, they appointed an Anglican lay reader to the position of President. This man had been sent here by the Bishop of Polynesia to open a school for European children. . . . I admit that I have always been a little sceptical about the reason stated for his coming, due to a remark made by an Anglican archdeacon while on a visit to Tonga. This archdeacon stated that it was very evident that the Free Church would go to pieces on Mr. Watkin's death and that it was advisable for them to be established in time and that he would bring the matter before the Bishop while in Suva. . . . There is an effort being made to induce these non-unionists to join the Anglican Church." (2)

The Free Church followers who opposed union did not long continue as one body. Within two years there was a further division. One section, with its strength mainly in Ha'apai, separated and called itself simply "The Church of Tonga"; it was often called "The Church of the Chiefs" because its leader was Finau 'Ulukalala. The other section, the larger of the two, kept the name, "Free Church of Tonga". Both of these have had Tongan Presidents ever since they separated.

The General Conference of 1926, held in Brisbane, was not attended by any representative from Tonga, but the constitution of the Free Wesleyan Church was approved without any amendment.

The year 1926 was marked by the observance of the Centenary. The coming 797
of John Thomas in 1826 was taken officially as the beginning of the evangelization
of Tonga. In this there was no reflection upon the work of the London Missionary
Society, nor upon Walter Lawry in 1822-3, but rather a recognition of the
continuous work begun by John Thomas whose name had become a legend among
the Tongans. Visitors from Australia, New Zealand, and Fiji, including J. G.

[1921-1952]

Wheen, now President-General, were welcomed to the celebrations which lasted 797
several weeks.

It was hoped that the Centenary would remove any consciousness of 795
differences within the united Church and even soften the hearts of those who had refused to join it. Undoubtedly, there was a fulfilment of the first desire. A very emotional outburst of religious fervour and Christian love indicated this. The revival (as it seemed to be) began in January 1926 in the village of Koulo in Ha'apai. Like the Pentecostal experiences in Vava'u in 1834 it spread very quickly through the whole of Tonga. "The love has fallen" upon the Church, the people said, and any friction within the united Church disappeared. The second desire, that there would be a movement towards completing union, failed entirely; the Centenary celebrations left untouched those who were opposed to union.

It was intended that a Centenary Church in Nuku'alofa should be the most 368
demonstrative memorial. The site on historic Zion Hill where the old Wesleyan 346
Church had stood was too small for the very large building now planned. Financial difficulties, with the economic depression and then the Second World War, caused repeated delays with this project; and it was not until 1952 that the imposing Centenary Church, seating over 2,000, was built.

Some of the financial difficulties in the Church arose from the pressure of 795
chiefs who expected the Church to retain their favour by making loans to them. 426
This practice had been widely followed before union in 1924 and it proved 565
difficult to reverse it suddenly. This illustrated another problem in a "chiefly 622
Church".

It was not only at the highest national level that deference to the chief could 795
cause a weakness in the Church. At the local level the ministers were sometimes 622
brought into conflict with the chiefs' authority. It was traditional for the people 565
to follow a chief's decision. When moral and spiritual issues were concerned and when a chief thought little of the standards of the Church it was difficult for a minister in the village to oppose him. For example, he might countenance alcohol or gambling or he might expect his wishes regarding church property or money to be obeyed. In all such cases it required a strong personality in a Tongan minister to uphold both moral principles and strict church procedures against a chief.

Better education, general and religious, for chiefs and people, and better 795
theological training for the ministry, were needed to strengthen the Church's 871
character and influence. In the forty years of division in Tonga educational progress was hindered not only by the limited resources of the Wesleyan Church but by the continuing rivalry between Church and Government, aggravated by the old differences between the Wesleyans and the Free Church, the latter supported by the Government system of education.

Reunion led to new opportunities in education. Before reunion Tupou College 795
had waned greatly in numbers. It had continued to use Tongan as its medium, 873
with the large amount of literature translated by Moulton. However, the growing [191]
need for English was recognized by the establishing of a new section with this objective; this was built in 1921 at Nafualu, four miles west of Nuku'alofa. At first it had only 20 students, with the brilliant historian-anthropologist, Dr. E. E. V. Collocott, as Principal; he retired early in 1924. The school grew to 104 in 1928. The girls' section, soon to be called Queen Salote College (in honour of George

[1927- 1934]

Tupou I's Queen), had 48 students in 1928 and increased steadily afterwards, 795
under the direction of Miss Gwen Blamires and, later, Mrs. M. E. Thompson. 873
The Primary School in Nuku'alofa had 288 pupils in 1927 and was the largest 872
school of any kind in Tonga at that time.

A Government scholarship scheme from 1929 enabled some students from 658
any secondary school to enter Newington College, Sydney; and others went to
the Central Medical School in Suva which had been established by the Rockefeller
Foundation, with support from various Pacific Islands Governments. In 1928 873
Tupou College, Nafualu, sent to tour Australia a choir of 30 boys, including the 484
present king; a second, smaller choir toured the Australian States from December
1932 to April 1933.

In 1931 an Education Commission, appointed by the Government, 658
recommended a division in secondary education — Tupou College to train future
teachers and the Government College to concentrate on agricultural and technical
education. It advised also that primary education should be left to the Missions,
with Government subsidies. Because of party feeling, along Church and College
lines, these recommendations lapsed.

For Page it was regrettable that the world-wide depression of 1929 and 795
following years, with the very low price of Tonga's staple product, copra, gravely [835]
limited the Church's expansion. The Nuku'alofa church could not be built. Money
could not be found for educational progress. The European ministers voluntarily 795
took a percentage reduction in stipends. The teachers in Free Wesleyan schools did 465
even more; some went month after month with no salaries and no complaints. A [793]
widowed Australian teacher, Mrs. M. E. Thompson, in charge of Queen Selote [563]
College and, afterwards, Siu'ilikutapu College, Vava'u, took no salary for a [875]
considerable part of her term of 22 years. From 1934 the Mission Board decided [797]
to pay the salaries of the European staff, not only as a relief to the Tongan Church,
but to honour the principle that European workers were a gift from Australia to the
indigenous Church. This action also rebutted any criticism from the seceding
Churches that the cost of European staff was an obstacle to reunion. Page, who
bore the brunt of post-union problems, waited for eleven years to take furlough.

By 1938 the Free Wesleyan Church had 25 primary schools with 2,266 795
pupils; with no grants, the buildings were inadequate and the teachers' salaries 872
very low. The inequality of poll-tax assessments for students sixteen years and
over had been a bone of contention since the Government College students had 877
always been granted a concession of half-tax; partisanship delayed the granting 651
of equal concessions to all College students until 1932.

Theological training for ministerial candidates waited until 1933 because 793
of the surplus of ministers after union. The first theological students were 874
accommodated at a wing of Tupou College, Nafualu; they were nine in number
and included Sau Faupula, who became the first minister in the Pacific Islands to
gain the Diploma of Licentiate in Theology, Melbourne College of Divinity.

* * * *

Changes in church procedure and in forms of worship came slowly, through 795
the conservatism of the people who feared to depart from the practices of the
early missionaries, and often through the opposition of the chiefs. The question 291
of allowing preachers to wear the Tongan skirt *(vala)* was debated for some years. 793

[1924-1942]

Trousers and black coats had been worn in imitation of Europeans, and old Free 241
Church people particularly were addicted to this practice. While Fijian and Samoan 793
preachers had their neat and comfortable native dress, their Tongan counterparts sweltered in their black suits. So conservative were members of Conference that permission was barely obtained, in 1932, for those College students who were local preachers to wear the *vala*. The same concession was obtained for theological students in 1934, and several years later the becoming native attire was adopted throughout the Free Wesleyan Church.

Gradually, other reforms were accepted. Illegitimate infants had not been 795
baptized in church services, to mark the Church's strong disapproval of illicit 848
sexual relationships; the reflection upon the infant was evidently thought to be
immaterial. In a country where illegitimacy was over 17% of births, largely [162]
because the parties often preferred not to marry, and where no social stigma was
attached to the child or its mother, it was incongruous that the Church should show discrimination in baptizing. Only a part of the service had been used in these cases, and this was done outside a church building. Even Dr. Moulton had felt that illegitimate children should be baptized quietly in his study or baptism left until a child was older. It was not until 1933 that Conference allowed baptism of an illegitimate child with the full service in the church, the mother accompanied
by a male relative. The 1934 Conference allowed funeral bells to be rung, 764
irrespective of the circumstances of birth or of death. 533

The 1934 Conference Minutes showed the care being exercised in the conduct 795
of worship. Conference ruled that the elements in Communion were to be received 795
kneeling (the old Wesleyan custom) and no one under fifteen years, normally, was 796
to be a communicant. The Morning Prayer Liturgy, with chanting, in Dr. Moulton's [516]
translation, had been used only in the Wesleyan Church after 1885; the old Free Church people had looked askance at it even after its optional use had been authorized in 1924; they overlooked the fact that the early missionaries had used these forms in an older and weaker translation. Gradually the liturgical forms were adopted.

Music always played a prominent part in Tongan Church worship. Choir 795
competitions, held in conjunction with the Annual Conference, were instituted in 796
1933. The Queen was one of the adjudicators on several occasions. Twice the 533
finals, with a massed choir of over 1,000, were held in the Palace grounds before a vast assemblage. The 50th anniversary of the setting up of the Free Wesleyan Church was celebrated in 1935, when thirty-seven choirs took part in the competitions.

An exceptional incident occurred in 1934 when a relatively small number 795
from the Free Church returned to the Free Wesleyan Church. A minister, John Malamala, with seventy people from the village of Kanokupolu, western Tongatapu, joined the Church.

Princess Fusipala, the Queen's step-sister, had been at school at Auckland 644
for six years, and at Methodist Ladies' College, Hawthorn, for three years. After serious ill-health in Tonga, she went to Sydney for medical treatment but died
there on 21 April 1933. Her body was brought to Nuku'alofa for interment in [764]
the royal tombs.

During World War II, on 21 July 1942, the Queen and the nation experienced the grievous loss of the Prince Consort and Premier, Tungi Mailefihi, who died

[1942-1952]

suddenly of a heart attack. His great-great-grandfather was Fatu with whom 644
Walter Lawry stayed in 1822-3. His great-grandfather was 'Ulakai, the first convert
of the two Tahitian teachers in 1826. In Church and State Tungi stood loyally
beside the Queen with sound advice and unwavering integrity. He was beloved
of his people in the Mu'a district, being generous in his allocation of land. Always [349]
a leader among old students of Tupou College, he was honoured by them in the [873]
erection of the Tungi Mailefihi Memorial Building at Toloa in 1957.

Before the war, Tupou College had grown to 400 students and Queen Salote 873
College to 170, all being boarders. In 1947 the boys were removed from Nafualu
to Toloa, near Fua'amotu, 14 miles south-east of Nuku'alofa, for the sake of
more gardening land; the enrolment grew to 700 in post-war years. Day girls were
admitted to Queen Salote College until the number grew to 750; this school has
an outstanding reputation for both academic and domestic training, as well as
participation in national dances on important occasions. In 1949 middle schools
were formed in various centres; this avoided overcrowding at the Colleges and
improved the standards in Ha'apai, Vava'u and other places. The financial burden [795]
on the Church continued to grow heavier, even though, for instance, the head [465]
teacher in a Church school had only the same salary as a beginner on a
Government school staff. The women of the Church in Australia gave some help, [797]
for example, with the building of the dormitory for 200 girls at Siu'ilikutapu
College in Vava'u.

After the removal of Tupou College to Toloa, the property at Nafualu was 874
used, from 1948 onwards, as a combined Theological College and Bible College,
the latter for church stewards who were virtually assistant pastors in smaller
villages. The Queen gave it a new name, Sia'atoutai, the place where nets are [103]
prepared for fishing. From 30 the number grew in 1970 to 126, with six young
women training as deaconesses. The Rev. R. A. W. Woodgate was most successful
in preparing students for the L.Th. examinations in 1951-61. By 1961 seven had
gained the L.Th. at Sia'atoutai. After 1965 all L.Th. subjects were taught by
Tongan teachers.

As the long-delayed project of building the Centenary Church finally 346
developed, it was necessary to remove the building erected by the old Free Church in 1888. Accommodating 800, it was an excellent example of Tongan architecture. The large roof and supports were moved as one unit, mounted on two motor-trucks and 24 carts, with hundreds of willing helpers. What seemed the impossible feat of transporting this heavy structure intact more than 300 yards was accomplished in the presence of the Queen.

The new concrete church took almost three years to erect. It is 184 feet by
70 feet, with an imposing clock-tower, the largest church in the South Pacific,
seating over 2,000. The architect was Mr. W. C. Brown and the foreman of works,
Mr. R. L. Pearson, both of Sydney; the Tongan foreman was Amini Fonua. Much
of the work was done voluntarily by church people. The actual cost was £40,000. [435]
On 27 September 1952 it was opened by the Queen and dedicated by the visiting
ex-President-General, Dr. H. G. Secomb.

On the whole, the Free Wesleyan Church may well feel that it has benefited 795
greatly from royal approval and encouragement. The Queen was always whole- 643
heartedly involved in the faith and witness of the Church at every level. This
was much more important than the exercise of her constitutional prerogative of
approving the election of the President of Conference each year. Whether the

[1924 - ca. 1972]

Queen's successors should have this prerogative was hardly considered in 1924 795
when the revised Constitution included it. This question has not been reviewed 643
since then but there is a case for re-examining it now.

The royal oath at the Tongan coronation has followed the British practice. The sovereign swears to maintain "the Protestant Reformed Religion". This prevents the succession of a non-Protestant to the throne of Tonga but it is not related to any particular Protestant Church. There is no State Church in Tonga even though the sovereign, until the present, has approved the election of the President of the Free Wesleyan Church annually and has always appointed him also as his chaplain.

---

**Footnotes:**

(1) Page to the President-General, 18 February 1925. F.W.C. 113
(2) Page to Dr. McCallum, 29 June 1925. F.W.C.

[1926 - 1975]

unemployment and an increase in crime have followed. In the two years, from 161
1966 to 1968, there was an increase of 46% in juvenile crime. It was estimated 162
in 1968 that there would be 11,000 youths leaving school in the following ten [674]
years, with only 1,400 jobs available for them in Government, commerce and [464]
industry — and no gardening land for a large proportion of them.

In 1975 it is estimated that about one-half of the taxpayers have no land 162
in spite of their legal entitlement. Because of the social and economic consequences 423
of this disturbing situation the Methodist General Conference in Sydney in May [797]
1975 expressed its sympathetic concern to the people of Tonga.

Migration to New Zealand, California, Hawaii, and elsewhere, has grown 167
considerably but has done little to mitigate the population problem. Many of the 184
large number of Tongans educated overseas return to find a social and cultural 464
gap as well as difficulty in gaining suitable employment. Tourism has given 457
limited relief, in the sale of artifacts as well as fruit and vegetables. Against this 177
are ill-effects arising from contact with the undesirable types of tourists.

Faced with economic conditions which affect the people's moral and religious 795
well-being, the Church has had to re-assess its own situation and its impact on
the community. It has failed to increase in proportion to the growth of population. 795
In 1926 the Free Wesleyan Church was 59%, in 1956 49.75%, in 1966 49.85%. 162
The Mormons who were 2.3% in 1931 were 7.15% in 1966. In 1966 the Roman
Catholics were 15.9%, the Free Church 14.3%, Church of Tonga 8.9%, Seventh
Day Adventists 1.08%. New sects, including Pentecostalists, Jehovah's Witnesses
and Baha'i, have entered the country.

The Free Wesleyan Church finds some satisfaction in the quality of its 795
ministry and in the development of its organization. In 1970 it had 13 ministers 793
with L.Th. diplomas, three with Diplomas in Religious Education (Melbourne
College of Divinity), one Bachelor of Arts, two Bachelors of Divinity, one Doctor
of Divinity. The Pacific Theological College in Suva, for advanced theological
education, is supported by the Free Wesleyan Church and other Churches in many
Pacific Islands groups. Greater attention has been given to improved organization 795
and literature for Sunday Schools and youth groups. The Friendly Islands [444]
Bookshop was established in 1973 through the initiative of the Connexional [212]
Secretary, John M. Connan, B.Sc., B.D., to provide more material in English
and Tongan for a people increasingly capable of benefiting from good literature.

At the local level religion still plays a major part in the Tongans' family and [771]
community life. The teachings and methods of the early missionaries have been continued, with the opportunities these have provided for singing, extemporaneous prayer and testimony in the services and "class meetings" that suit the Tongans' temperament. New forms, especially for young people, such as the Christian Endeavour Society, have been added. The three Churches which have sprung from the Wesleyan stock have generally followed the same pattern. What is distressing is the spectacle of division in even small villages. Two, and sometimes three, congregations worship simultaneously and not far apart from each other, using similar hymns and forms of worship, proclaiming the same doctrines, observing the same procedures — early Sunday morning prayer-meeting, two Sunday services, Sunday School, mid-week service, mid-week prayer meetings, "class meetings" for members, and the ever-popular choir practices. In many villages in recent years the rivalry has been worsened by the presence of other denominations also, with a total of five, six or more in some villages.

[1951-1972]

In June 1968, the centenary of Tupou College was observed; it had been 873
postponed from 1966 because of the Queen's death, the period of mourning, and [643]
the coronation celebrations. There were 10,000 present at the final service at [765]
Toloa, the present location of the College. Another feature was the singing of [533]
Handel's oratorio "The Messiah" by a massed choir of 2,000, formed by village
choirs from all districts, at the Centenary Church, Nuku'alofa. The entire oratorio
was sung from memory and with great eclat.

The development of practical teaching in agriculture and in animal husbandry 874
at Tupou College has made it almost self-supporting. A new science block and [797]
a technical wing have enlarged the usefulness of the College; these were supported
by "The Methodist Million" fund in Australia and the benevolence of the late
Lord Rank in England. The new Hango Agricultural College on the island of
'Eua, opened by the king in 1969, with a property of 420 acres, is designed to
emulate the success of Navuso, the Methodist Agricultural School in Fiji. The 873
value of Tupou High School, established in 1963 for higher academic studies, was
seen when in 1965 the first of its students qualified to matriculate at Melbourne
University; this was the first case of matriculation from a school in Tonga.

The contribution of the Churches to secondary education is revealed by the 795
fact that over 50% of the secondary school students in Tonga are now being 873
educated by the Free Wesleyan Church, about 40% by other Churches, and only
10% in Government secondary schools. In 1972 the Free Wesleyan Church had
2,990 students in six colleges, 2,000 in twenty-one middle schools, 3,999 in 29
primary schools. Other Churches have expanded their educational facilities; the
Mormon College was developed with an expenditure of $4,000,000 in five years
and has reached an enrolment of 1,200 co-educational pupils.

An encouraging instance of better inter-church relationships is the friendliness 795
with the Roman Catholic Church. This has been inspired by the world-wide
influence of the late Pope John XXIII. Agreement was reached regarding a new
translation of the Bible. A noted missionary-linguist, the late Dr. Maxwell [779]
Churchward, who produced, first, a new Grammar and Dictionary for the
Government, revised the New Testament between 1951 and 1961. In August
1962 the two Churches agreed to accept this and to revise the Old Testament
also. The Roman Catholic Church asked for only four words to be spelt according
to its custom (Jesus, Mary, Joseph, and grace). Dr. John 'Amanaki Havea was
commissioned in 1965 to conduct the whole revision. So amicable is the [796]
relationship between the two Churches that in 1972 a choir of 1,000 Free
Wesleyans took part in the service of consecrating a Tongan priest to be the first [793]
Tongan-born Roman Catholic bishop. The Tongan Council of Churches,
established in 1973 (under the auspices of the World Council of Churches),
consists of the Free Wesleyan Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the
Church of England. The Free Church and the Church of Tonga have not become
members of the Council of Churches.

The Church has felt itself fortunate in the quality of overseas ministers and 793
teachers who have served in Tonga in this century. A full list appears in the 797
appendix. Special reference is made to the following:—

Ernest E. V. Collocott, M.A., B.D., Litt.D., served in Ha'apai, and also as Principal of Tupou College, beginning the new section at Nafualu with English as the medium. His published works in Tongan history and anthropology were accepted in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, and other learned societies.

[1935 - 1964]

## Chapter XIX.

# TONGAN SAINTS AND LEADERS

More important than overseas ministers and teachers have been the Tongan 79
leaders of the Free Wesleyan Church. Their influence upon the people depended,
in the final analysis, upon the quality of their lives, and the term "saints" can be
worthily applied to some of them.

Among the leaders in this century Queen Salote was undoubtedly outstanding 643
— and not only because of her rank. Her influence was derived from her Christian 795
integrity and her conspicuous personal talents. She seemed to inherit the
commanding presence and the eloquence of Tupou I. Oratory is highly esteemed 643
in Tonga. The Queen's clear and challenging voice, with a direct and logical 537
approach to her topics, religious or national, always held her hearers' attention.
This effect was evident both in large assemblies and in the small devotional
meetings which she regularly conducted. As a poet also she was conspicuous. 643
Her poems were set to melodies of her own composition and were used in [538]
descriptive dances at festivals. Her written and spoken English was perfect. Sir [535]
Harry Luke (High Commissioner, 1938-42) said of her dispatches, "She writes in [191]
a clear unaffected style with a simplicity of phrasing and pleasantly old-fashioned
flavour faintly reminiscent of John Bunyan".(1)

Before her visit to Britain in 1953 brought her world-fame the Queen had 643
attracted interest in places closer to Tonga. In 1935 she visited Sydney for medical 484
treatment; upon her recovery from an operation the Church held a reception for
her in Sydney Town Hall from which hundreds of expectant guests were turned
away. Auckland, which she frequently visited, was regarded by her and the people
of that city as her second home.

The Queen's sorrows were many. She often said that these drew her closer 643
to God and increased her sympathies with others. The loss of her husband was
a great deprivation. Before then she had lost her second son, William Tuku'aho,
who died on 28 April 1938, at the age of sixteen, from the effects of a rheumatic
heart. She was a mother indeed to her people, knowing them intimately and being
concerned with their personal problems. In no part of the nation's life was her 643
influence greater than in the promotion of the welfare of women. In 1933 she 562
founded an organization for the improvement of living conditions in the villages
and the encouragement of handicrafts. Miss Rowlands, Principal of Queen Salote
College, her personal friend, gave her support in these enterprises. The Queen
organized the first international assembly held in Tonga, the Pan-Pacific and
South-East Asia Women's Association Conference, which met at Nuku'alofa in
August 1964.

Through all the changing years the Queen bore witness to the reality of her 643
personal faith. She was an able expositor of the Scriptures on both formal and 795
informal occasions. Her solicitude for the well-being of the Church was revealed

[1902 - 1967]

in the advice she gave each year regarding the appointments of ministers. This, 643
strictly speaking, was quite an irregular procedure but Page and his successors 795
in the presidential office knew that every minister accepted unquestioningly what
he understood had been decided upon her advice. She took a deep interest in the
Women's World Day of Prayer. In the last year of her life (1965) she selected
Scripture readings and wrote the prayers used by women throughout the world
in February 1966.

The Queen was honoured by Britain on several occasions. She was the first 643
D.B.E. in the Pacific (1932), Dame Grand Cross (G.B.E.) in 1945, G.C.V.O. in 648
1953, and, just before her death, G.C.M.G., the only woman in the world with
this last-mentioned distinction.

In January 1965 she visited Auckland for medical treatment. An exploratory 643
operation revealed the secondary growth of cancer. She returned to Tonga in 164
May, and for the remaining months was under drugs and often in considerable
pain.

When the ashes of her old friend, Rodger Page, were brought from Sydney, 643
she was driven slowly around the cemetery. Especially as she was then in the last 793
stages of her illness, this action impressed the great crowd at the cemetery as a 795
signal mark of respect. She also directed that the word for "burial" on Page's stone [764]
should be *telio*, the word reserved for royalty, an unprecedented evidence of
esteem. [577]

On 31 October, four days before returning to a hospital in Auckland, the 643
Queen received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from her chaplain, the Rev. 763
George Harris, and other ministers. She then gave a testimony, indicating her
resignation to whatever might happen to her, adding that she had professed her
faith in Christ when she was young and had adhered to it ever since, so that no
hurried final spiritual preparations were needed. Treatment in Auckland proved
of no avail. She passed away on 16 December.

The funeral took place on 23 December at Nuku'alofa before an assemblage 643
estimated at 50,000. The king and queen with the royal family, the Governor- 764
General of New Zealand, the Governor of Fiji, the Head of State in Western
Samoa, and many other visiting leaders followed the bier on foot. In the still air
the singing of the hymns the late Queen had chosen was deeply moving. Mourned
with profound sincerity, she is still, years after her death, called by her people
"Our Beloved Queen".

King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV was crowned on his 50th birthday, 4 July 1967, 643
by his chaplain, George Harris, supported by Cecil Gribble, then President-General,
who visited Tonga for the occasion. The king's brother, John Tu'ipelehake, [644]
succeeded the king as Premier. Both the king and his brother are local preachers [645]
in the Church and staunch supporters of all moral and religious movements in [793]
Tonga.

The ministers upon whom the integrity and development of the Church 793
depend have included some of conspicuous devotion. Such a stalwart was Paul 795
Fukofuka, one of those who refused many times to forsake the Wesleyan ministry
for a higher stipend in the Free Church; he died in 1918, a veteran who had been
born in pre-Christian days and who remembered John Thomas. Another, of
similar fidelity and ability, was John Taufa, an inspiring preacher, who died in
1941. John Havea was senior tutor at Tupou College, 1902-9 and 1912-42. He

[1891-1960]

assisted Dr. Moulton in translation work in 1904 in Sydney and was ordained 793 that year by the New South Wales Conference. Later, he collaborated with Dr. 795 Collocott in writing *Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans* and other contributions to [113] anthropological research. He had a most beneficial influence on the hundreds of students who passed under his care; among these were Prince Tungi, and his sons, [815] the present king and the premier. And what more shall be said of William Tupou, Methuselah Talakai, Charles Napa'a, and many other heroic souls who moulded and guided the Church during difficult days?

Sau Faupula, L.Th., by general consent, was the outstanding minister of his generation. Those qualified to evaluate his work have considered that no Pacific Islands minister surpassed him in dedication and in qualities of leadership. His great-grandfather, John Faupula, was the first convert in Fiji, who would have succeeded to the chieftainship in the Lau group but was forced to flee to Tonga. His son Kebuel and his grandson Robert, Sau's father, were ministers. Sau's son, [797] Harold, is a missionary in Arnhem Land, North Australia.

Sau entered Tupou College, Nafualu, in 1925, eventually becoming dux and a teacher there in 1929. With his full teaching programme and his gardening tasks he still studied for the L.Th. and, in November 1933, completed the course, including New Testament Greek and the Latin Vulgate, being the first Pacific Islander to gain the L.Th. Diploma. He was one of the first Pacific Islands deputations to Australia in 1934. He was a representative to General Conference in 1948, 1954 and 1960. On the morning after the 1960 General Conference ended, on 27 May, he died suddenly from a heart attack. He had been the first director of the Young People's Department and also Secretary of Conference for 14 years. By his eloquence and forcefulness he exerted a powerful influence through his preaching in churches and in the open air. His transparent sincerity and consistency of life underlined his utterances. It was recognized that his loss to the Tongan Church was irreparable and, even now, his contemporaries wistfully exclaim, "If only Sau were still with us!"

The supply of Tongan ministers and teachers for Overseas Missions never 797 faltered. When the Mission in Papua (Islands Region) was begun in 1891, John Kuli became renowned both for his preaching and his skill as a navigator; in an enthusiastic meeting at Nuku'alofa in 1910 he offered to return, but he was far too old. After the Mission in the Solomon Islands was established in 1902, James Nau, with a Samoan colleague, Pologa, showed conspicuous devotion when waiting in an exposed dinghy off an island in the Ontong Java atolls for thirteen weeks until the people ceased their opposition and allowed the teachers to land. Another faithful missionary was Paul Havea, eldest son of John Havea, who served for many years in the Solomons, including the years of Japanese occupation in the Second World War. A younger John Taufa (now Bishop in the United Church of Papua, New Guinea and the Solomons) and Daniel Palavi have laboured in Bougainville and Vella Lavella, Solomons, for nearly twenty years.

Jonathan Meleke and Ezekiel Hau'ofa went to Papua in 1937; they rallied their people during the confusion of war when overseas missionaries had been withdrawn by Government orders. Hau'ofa continued for 33 years in much isolation that called for special responsibility. Meleke died in 1944. Another devoted missionary in Papua, David Mone, said of Meleke, "I was jealous of Meleke, jealous of his goodness". David Mone, L.Th., was a strong leader, both in Papua during the war years, and afterwards as a pioneer in the Lai Valley in

[1924 - 1972]

the Papua-New Guinea Highlands. John Fiusati, L.Th., also a missionary in the 797
Highlands, like Mone, died soon after returning to Tonga.

The Church in Tonga has received wholehearted support from distinguished 794
lay members of Conference who placed the interests of the Church first always in 795
their objectives. Among these were Solomon Ata, who succeeded Prince Tungi as Premier, Moulton Finau Fisi'ihoi, lawyer and veteran member of Parliament, John Phillip Tongilava, the Queen's Secretary for more than thirty years, William Mataka 'Umufuke and Jonathan Tupou, prominent civil servants, all now deceased.

Two of the leaders today typify the dedication of the Church to its tasks. 795
The Secretary of Conference is Siupeli Taliai, B.A., Dip.Ed., L.Th., still a [873]
comparatively young man, and first Tongan to be Principal of Tupou College
with its enrolment of 700. Unusually energetic and forthright in religious and [771]
educational affairs alike, he insists on challenging the people always to obey the
one Master, Jesus Christ, whose will should determine the course Tonga is setting — in family life, in the church and the nation.

The President of Conference since 1970 is John 'Amanaki Havea, B.D., of Drew Theological Seminary, U.S.A. and Doctor of Divinity (St. Paul's University, Tokyo). Son of the saintly John Havea, brother of Paul Havea of the Solomons, he breathes the same spirit of complete devotion. Except for Setaleki Manu, President for the year of reunion, 1924, 'Amanaki is the first Tongan President. He was also the first Tongan Principal of Sia'atoutai Theological College. He was chosen Chairman of the first Conference of Pacific Churches in 1960 and held that office until 1971. In 1972 he was elected one of the eight Presidents of the World Methodist Council, the only representative on the presidium from Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. His sagacity and his wide experience have won him the respect and esteem of his own people.

'Amanaki and Siupeli are the third generation of ministers in their families. Sau Faupula was the fourth in his family line. No Church shows more clearly than the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga the influence of the families of ministers from whom one generation after another has drawn its Church leaders. So the goodly succession runs. In such leadership and with the people's response lies the hope of the Church for the future.

---

(1) Luke, H., *Queen Salote and Her Kingdom*, p.77. [113]

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

## LIST OF MISSIONARIES (MINISTERIAL)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Walter Lawry | 1822-23 | |
| John Thomas | 1826-50, 55-59 | |
| John Hutchinson | 1826-28 | |
| Nathaniel Turner | 1827-31 | |
| William Cross | 1827-35 | |
| Peter Turner | 1831-35, 39-53 | |
| James Watkin | 1831-37 | |
| William Woon | 1831-33 | |
| John Hobbs | 1831-37 | |
| Charles Tucker | 1833-41 | |
| David Cargill | 1834-35, 42-43 | |
| William Brooks | 1836-40 | |
| John Spinney | 1836-39 | |
| Stephen Rabone | 1836-50 | |
| Matthew Wilson | 1836, 39-54 | |
| Thomas Wellard | 1836 | |
| Richard Burdsall Lyth, M.D. | 1838-39 | |
| Francis Wilson | 1840-46 | |
| George Kevern | 1840-46 | |
| William Webb | 1841-53 | |
| George R. H. Miller | 1843-53 | |
| Thomas West | 1846-55 | |
| Joel Bate | 1846-47 | |
| Thomas Adams | 1847-60 | |
| George Daniel | 1847-56 | |
| Walter J. Davis | 1848-56, 61-66 | |
| Richard Amos | 1847-58 | |
| John Vercoe | 1854-60 | |
| John Whewell | 1855-65 | |
| George Lee | 1857-68 | |
| Martin Dyson | 1857, 65-68 | |
| William G. R. Stephinson | 1858-70 | |
| William Hill | 1859-60 | |
| Joseph T. Shaw | 1860 | |
| Shirley W. Baker | 1860-81 | |
| John Clifton | 1861-64 | |
| Frank Firth | 1862-64 | |
| James Egan Moulton, D.D. | 1865-88, 95-1905 | |
| Jabez Bunting Watkin | 1866-85 | |
| George Minns | 1867-75, 78-81 | |
| William T. Rabone | 1867-74 | |
| James W. Wallis | 1867-68 | 797 |
| David S. Wylie | 1869-71 | |
| Henry Greenwood | 1869-74 | |
| James Thomas | 1871-76 | |
| Charles Sanders | 1874 | |
| Henry C. Oldmeadow | 1876-84 | |
| Ebenezer Fox | 1876-77 | |
| Ernest E. Crosby | 1884-91 | |
| George Brown, D.D. | 1888-90 | |
| Charles E. James | 1889 | |
| James A. Bowring | 1890-95 | |
| James Egan Moulton, B.A. | 1896-1902 | |
| Charles P. Walkden Brown | 1903-08 | |
| Rodger C. G. Page | 1908-47 | |
| Ernest E. V. Collocott, M.A., B.D., Litt.D. | 1911-24 | |
| Arthur M. Sanders | 1914-27 | |
| Harold F. Allen | 1921-22 | |
| Charles M. Moore | 1923-31 | |
| A. Harold Wood, M.A., D.D., | 1924-37 | |
| George C. Harris, M.A. | 1926-34, 62-69 | |
| Edwin G. Harris, B.A. | 1928-39 | |
| Walter Shepherd, B.A., B.D., | 1936-38 | |
| Cecil F. Gribble, M.A. | 1939-46 | |
| Alfred E. McKay, B.A., B.D. | 1940-56 | |
| Eben. E. V. Newman, B.A., B.D., B.Litt. | 1943-48 | |
| John Churchill | 1945-48 | |
| Kenneth D. Grove, B.A., B.D. | 1946-58 | |
| Ronald A. W. Woodgate, B.A., B.D., B.Ed. | 1947-60 | |
| Howard W. Secomb, B.A. | 1949-63 | |
| Colin J. Harkness | 1953-60 | |
| John Sutton, B.A. | 1960-67 | |
| H. Paul K. Triggs, B.Sc., B.D. | 1963-68 | |
| Noel J. Kentish | 1965-66 | |
| H. Geoffrey Cummins, B.A. | 1966-73 | |
| Justin J. Gooderham, B.A. | 1966-71 | |
| Clive R. Skewes, B.A. | 1967-74 | |
| Robin A. Nance, B.Sc.Agr., B.D. | 1970- | |
| John M. Connan, B.Sc., B.D. | 1971- | |

## CHAIRMEN OF DISTRICT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Nathaniel Turner | 1827-31 | |
| John Thomas | 1831-50, 56-57 | |
| Peter Turner | 1850-53 | |
| Thomas Adams | 1853-55, 57-60 | |
| Walter J. Davis | 1861-67 | |
| George Lee | 1867-69 | |
| Shirley W. Baker | 1870-79 | 795 |
| Jabez Bunting Watkin | 1880-81 | 797 |
| James E. Moulton, D.D. | 1881-88, 95-1905 | |
| James A. Bowring | 1892-95 | |
| Charles P. Walkden Brown | 1906-08 | |
| Rodger C. G. Page | 1908-25 | |

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

## PRESIDENTS OF CONFERENCE

795

| | |
|---|---|
| Jabez Bunting Watkin | 1885-1924 |
| Setaleki Manu | 1924-25 |
| Rodger C. G. Page | 1925-47 |
| Alfred E. McKay, B.A., B.D. | 1947-56 |
| Ronald A. W. Woodgate, B.A., B.D., B.Ed. | 1956-60 |
| Howard W. Secomb, B.A. | 1961-63 |
| George R. Harris, B.A. | 1963-69 |
| Justin J. Gooderham, B.A. | 1969-70 |
| John 'Amanaki Havea, D.D. | 1970- |

## LAY MISSIONARIES

797

| | |
|---|---|
| Frank R. Green | 1948-51 |
| J. Claude Thomas | 1952-58 |
| John W. Norman, B.A., B.D., B.Ed. | 1963-66 |
| Ian W. Harris | 1967- |
| Geoffrey L. Hocking, B.Sc. | 1969-71 |
| Colin J. Cumming | 1969-71 |
| Nigel N. H. Statham | 1970- |
| Robert W. Springett | 1970-75 |

## MISSIONARY SISTERS AND TEACHERS

| | |
|---|---|
| Lena Bennett | 1911-14 |
| Lizzie G. Curwood | 1921-24 |
| Doris Barber (Mrs. Smith) | 1922-24 |
| Gwen Cole (Mrs. Moore) | 1923-24 |
| Gwen Blamires (Mrs. Peterson) | 1926-33, 63 |
| Ruth Fabrin (Mrs. Harris) | 1926 |
| Beryl Grigg | 1925-26 |
| Mavis Cannam | 1925-26 |
| Eunice Bowden | 1926-29 |
| Irene P. Knight | 1926-28, 46-51 |
| Dorothy Ferguson | 1927-29 |
| Marjorie Harford | 1927-32 |
| Hazel Gaulton | 1929-32 |
| Mary E. Thompson | 1932-47, 53-59 |
| Dilys Rowlands | 1945-68, 70 |
| Neeta Garrad | 1954-57 |
| Joan Collins | 1956-64 |
| Glennis Leach | 1957-64 |
| Muriel Snell | 1958-61 |
| Beryl Weston | 1959-70 |
| Solway Love, B.A. | 1965 |
| Glenys Crothers | 1969-70 |
| Janette Maddox, B.A. | 1970-74 |
| Jennifer Harkness | 1972-73 |
| Patricia Meldrum | 1973- |
| Barbara Pott, B.A. | 1974- |

93: Urbanowicz E-4 (1970-1971) 1978
OU9 Tonga OU9

> 797 *[to] the exercise of this holy discipline over their fellow countrymen. They are valuable auxiliaries to our work.*(85)

[643] Such sentiments led to an eventual break which came in the 1860s; King George Tupou I gradually separated himself from his Wesleyan advisers, with the exception of the Rev. S. W. Baker.(86) And so, it is only in this
795 decade of the 20th century that a Tongan finally became the leader of the Tongan Church in Tonga.

85. Adams 1953; emphasis mine.
86. See Rutherford 1971.

## REFERENCES

113 Adams, Thomas, 1853. "Letter" dated 7 May. Sydney, Mitchell Library Microfilm FM4/1420 reel 20 (original in London).

Barney, Ralph D., 1974. "An Early Public War of Words in Pacific Politics: Tonga, 1860–1890." *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 83:349–60.

Beaglehole, John C. (ed.), 1967. *The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776–1780*, Volume Three, Part Two. Cambridge, Hakluyt Society.

Benson, C. Irving, 1960. "Missionaries in the South Seas," in C. L. Barrett (ed.), *The Pacific Ocean: Ocean of Oceans*. Melbourne, N. J. Seward.

Biggs, Bruce, 1960. *Maori Marriage: An Essay in Reconstruction*. Wellington, Polynesian Society Maori Monographs, No. 1.

Brookfield, H. C., 1972. *Colonialism, Development and Independence: The Case of the Melanesian Islands in the South Pacific*. Cambridge.

Collocott, Ernest E. V., n.d. *Papers on Tonga 1845–19??, I-V*. Sydney, Mitchell Library ML MSS.207.

Cross, William, 1830. "Letter-Journal" dated 1 July. Sydney, Mitchell Library Microfilm FM4/1417 reel 26 and photocopy in A2837 (original in London).

Cummins, H. G., 1975. "Missionary Politicians." *Journal of Pacific History*, 10:105–12.

Decktor Korn, Shulamit R., 1974. "Tongan Kin Groups: The Noble and the Common View." *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 83:5–13.

——— 1975. "Household Composition in the Tonga Islands: A Question of Options and Alternatives." *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 31:235–59.

Dumont D'Urville, Jules S. C., n.d. *Voyage de la Corvette L'Astrolabe . . . Histoire du Voyage, 1826–1829*. (Partial transcript by Olive Wright.) Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library Misc. MS.1372.

Franco, Robert W., 1976. *The History, Role and Function of the Contemporary Catholic Church in Western Samoa*. Chico, unpublished M.A. thesis in anthropology, California State University, Chico.

Garrett, John, 1974. "The Conflict between the London Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Methodists in 19th Century Samoa." *Journal of Pacific History*, 9:65–80.

Gifford, Edward W., 1924. "Euro-American Acculturation in Tonga." *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 33:281–92.

——— 1929. *Tongan Society*. Honolulu, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin, 61.

Goldman, Irving, 1970. *Ancient Polynesian Society*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Hammer, George E., 1952. The Early Years of the Wesleyan-Methodist Mission in Tonga (1822–1855). Dunedin, unpublished M.A. thesis for the University of New Zealand.

/94 cont./
621 of their common life in the villages. In some respects the village
[189] community seems to be one large family. True, every household has
[592] its own separate dwelling in the village. But the household is by
621 no means isolated in the community. For example, if a villager of the
425 small islands needs any sort of object, be it a particular mat of a
chicken or even a pig or a horse, he will ask a fellow-villager for
it and will receive it without a direct service in return. This is the
old system of "reciprocal insurance," for tomorrow the giver may be a
[576] suppliant. It is a rule of courtesy to grant the suppliant his wish,
just as it is an unwritten law never to take unfair advantage of this
421 mutual aid. The concept of property and right of ownership is far
425 less developed than in Europe. Perhaps the chief's power of disposal
[565] over the property of commoners in ancient Tonga is one reason for this;
[178] another reason may be the common production (that is, with the cooperation of several villagers) of essential things such as houses, boats,
[476]
[177] tapa and mats. It is at any rate interesting that European influences
[436] were never capable of eradicating this ancient custom of natural
621 material assistance, through the introduction of money. On the small
432 islands very few natives sell their products to their fellow-villagers,
554 and they are not exactly highly respected for doing so. On Tongatapu
177 and Vava'u the influx of money is, of course, greater, especially in
436 the seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu. But even in these small cities
632 every inhabitant can at least go to every other for a meal if he does
[571] not happen to have prepared one for himself.

186 In these towns, as on the small islands, the feeling of solidarity
621 unites the natives even beyond the divisive influence of the denominations. It often happens, for example, that Protestants and members of
795
794 other churches give money for the collections of the Catholic
congregations and vice versa.

476 /95/ Even "reciprocal insurance" also applies to work assistance,

/95 cont./

476 for a person may ask one or more fellow-villagers (aside from relatives)
to help with difficult undertakings on the plantations, in house
building or boat building. In general, everyone complies with such a
request, and the work is not paid, but usually acknowledged only with
[621] a good earth-oven meal. Here too community feeling is stronger
[177] than European influences. Thus, in December 1951 on Nomuka, many
476 Tongans of the "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga" /cited in English/
571 helped their fellow villagers of the "apostate" "Church of Tonga" to
794 make cement tiles for a new church building; even the pastor of the
795 Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga took part in this work, and the brass
533 bands of his church provided music for the construction work of the
"apostates."

186 The far-flung kinship of the villagers among each other on many
181 islands is an important, though by no means the sole, cause of this
solidarity. It is rooted above all in the particular Tongan character
[178] traits of good nature and gregariousness, and is strengthened and
443 cultivated by tradition. Even the Tongan traders with their small
181 shops which, as a result of their European-like way of doing business,
178 could be a foreign body in the community, sometimes yield to old
[477] customs. Thus it often happened on Nomuka, for instance, that a
merchant who had run out of certain articles asked his competitor for
them and successfully sold them.

476 The more casual joining together of several villagers in a work project for one of them often takes on a more permanent form by becoming a sort of cooperative organization for mutual aid. For instance, five men may agree to found such a work group, a kautaha, in order to cultivate their plantations. On the first day, all five will work for number one on his land, then for number two, and so on. During this rotation no further member is taken on; however, for the next round they are often willing to increase the number of participants.

/251 cont./ When earthquakes, which are frequent in Tonga,
773 occur, some people, as in old times, (675)

178 675. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 120;
823 J. Wilson, A missionary voyage /cited
789 in English/. pp. 277/278.

776 still make a noise in order to quiet the demigod Maui who carries the earth on his shoulders and, on such occasions, moves because of his uncomfortable position; not all natives, however, are aware of the meaning of this noise-making.

346 Today, every Tongan village has several churches, and even settlement on the tiniest islands of the Archipelago are not satisfied with only one of these more or less simple houses of God. The
795 reason is /252/ that there are now seven different denominations among
794 this people of 50,000 souls: the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, the Free Church of Tonga, the Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church, the Latter Day Saints, (Mormons) the Seventh Day Adventists and the Church of England /all cited in English/. The Mormons, the Adventists and the Church of England have been working for only a few decades in Tonga, and have only a small following so far. A larger number of Tongans belong to the Catholic church, which has done mission work in the Archipelago since 1842, but even they are a minority compared to most of the nation which is Wesleyan. The Wesleyans are split up into three churches of which the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga is the largest and comprises more than half of all Tongans.

The reasons for the origin of three Wesleyan churches are the following:

Around the middle of the previous century practically all Tongans were Christians, and the great majority of them were Wesleyans. They belonged to the Wesleyan (Mission) Church of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church which was under the authority of the Australasian Conference. In 1885 King George Tupou I, with the aid

795 /252 cont,/ In 1885 King George Tupou I, with the aid
794 (or at the instigation?) of his Premier, the former Wesleyan mission-
643 ary Shirley Baker, tried to obtain Tongan autonomy for this church.
[645] When he was denied this, George founded the Wesleyan Free Church of
(797) Tonga, alongside of which the Wesleyan Church continued to exist. In
1923/24, under the influence of Queen Salote Tupou, it was decided to
unite the two churches under the name of Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga.
795 The majority of Tongans joined this church, while some of the natives
794 remained faithful to the Wesleyan Free Church (first known as
Continuing Free Church, then as Free Church of Tonga). But in this
[578] church, too, differences of opinion arose, which evidently pertained
to its white president, and a group split off and in 1928 founded the
Church of Tonga.

795 The three Wesleyan churches in Tonga show scarcely any differences
578 in dogma. Their division is based on administrative disputes, some of
the reasons for which lie in the pride and self-assurance of the Tongans
who would like to control their church and its finances themselves.
[643] The present Queen Salote, in her not quite successful attempt to unite
the churches (1923/24), was drawn into the dispute to the extent that
some Tongans of the minority Wesleyan churches blame her for this
step and sometimes even come to some not altogether valid conclusions
/253/ /saying/, for example, that "all this confusion comes from Her
Majesty the Queen." Yet, although the seven denominations in Tonga
are rivals and are pleased whenever a new member from another church
comes over to them, and although there is occasional unfriendliness,
especially between Wesleyans and Catholics, there is nevertheless no
open and bitter opposition to be observed. Rather, there is a quiet
and rigid insistence on the different points of view. And the old
[186] community feeling of the Tongans still outweighs the seven ecclesiastical divisions of the people. Many natives take it for granted that
Wesleyan, for example, give donations when money is collected for

/253 cont./

795 the Catholic church, and that conversely Catholics do the same, that
578 members of the Free Wesleyan Church actively help one of the dissenting
churches build their church (as happened on Nomuka, for example, in
1951/52) and that Wesleyans send their children to Catholic schools
(and vice versa). The Tongans are, after all, too even-tempered to
let serious inner conflicts arise just because each of the seven
795 churches regards its doctrine to be the only true one. They belong
794 to a church and give themselves more or less to its services and find
771 inner contentment therein. And if they do not find this, if for
some reason they are dissatisfied and learn of the very convincing
doctrine of another church, they will simply change over. However, such
transfers are not frequent enough to cause a continuing turnover
amongst the membership of the individual church communities.

346 In an average Tongan village there are perhaps three or four
177 (five) churches. They are either simple structures shaped like larger
dwellings of ancient Tonga style, roofed over and covered with interwoven halved coconut palm leaves (pola) or provided with board walls, glass windows and corrugated iron roofs, or they are simple European-type rectangular frame houses (with corrugated iron roofs) or, in rare cases, buildings resembling European churches, made of coral limstone, sand and cement, or of reinforced concrete with a regular church steeple. (676)

346
352 The interiors of the Wesleyan churches vary from simple seat mats on

---

676. The Catholic church of Pangai/Lifuka, for example, was built in the 20s of this century in the style of a French village church, and even has a steeple clock. The Catholic church of Fungamisi/Vava'u, built in 1946 of reinforced concrete, has a steeple 16 meters high. In 1952 the Wesleyans completed the largest church building of the Archipelago in Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu), a modern-style reinforced concrete construction which is huge by their standards.

/257 cont./

533
796 the women and girls) still have a nasal sound.

[194] today sing at services in their churches. The Free Wesleyan Church
795 of Tonga prefers purely European (English) melodies which have been
796 borrowed from hymns as well as secular songs. In the Free Church of
533
177 Tonga, which is more conservative and apparently also does not have
the personnel to teach congregations the European song literature, one
still hears predominantly European-influenced ancient Tongan melodies.

533 The choirs of the various Wesleyan churches cultivate singing to
794 an especially great extent. They meet several evenings a week and, by
177 a system of numbered notes written on blackboards, which was introduced
in Tonga, they practice with great patience and notable musical
talent the songs composed by their choir masters or adapted from
European printed notes; these songs they sing with an enthusiasm
intensified by their Christian faith. In this way even works of
European masters (as for example, the Hallelujah chorus of Handel's
"Messiah") have been introduced in Tonga.

533 The influence of sacred songs is today so great that even on sea journeys between the islands the natives sing chiefly these songs and rarely secular ones.

Thus Tongan song has changed essentially in comparison with the
past. Yet the joy of singing is probably at least as great today as
(177) it was in ancient Tonga, since the new European /258/ melodies and
particularly the singing furthered by religious motives have brought
great stimulation.

534 In pre-European Tonga there were relatively few, simple musical instruments. At dances the natives liked to use "rhythm-stampers," that is, bamboo tubes of various lengths closed at the lower end, the proportions of which determined the pitch of the tone. (690)

T F 795 171 /310 cont./ Likewise in the ecclesiastical sphere conditions in both island groups are similar insofar as /311/ there are likewise various denominations in the Fiji Archipelago; (36)

36. Wesleyan Church, Roman Catholic Church, Adventists, Anglican Church, Presbyterians.

yet these natives have not come around to founding churches independently.

T F 533 538 535 177 In the field of art it can be noted that both song and instrumental music as well as poetry and the dance have undergone changes (adoption of European heritage, fusion of old and new, loss of ancient cultural heritage) similar to those undergone by the corresponding arts of the Tongans. Games too seem changed, as in Tonga.

T F 524 In /the realm of general/ knowledge and hence in the Fijian con- F 872 177 ception of the world, European influences (especially schools and churches) likewise have their effects. Almost every native child today has an elementary school education--as in the Tonga Archipelago--and in general the children here too learn quite willingly. The system of transmitting European knowledge through schools is, however, limited since the effectiveness of some elementary schools still leaves much to be desired, and relatively few pupils have the T 871 opportunity for higher education. The Tongan educational system seems somewhat more progressive in this respect, and actually offers too T F 871 182 much schooling for conditions there. While in that Archipelago the young people who have successfully attended college and can find no entrance to the higher professions devote themselves as a matter of T [873] [463] F [571] course to the farm work of their fathers, it is reported in this colony that those whose school education is completed largely scorn village life and, we are told, there is a "constant increase of a discontented class of half-educated youth" /cited in English/. (37)

125 survey sample were examined within a 4-week period. Standards for physical measurements and hair sampling were observed in that each child was measured on the same anatomical site and hair samples were taken from the same scalp location[1] (note procedures in Appendix C).A Efforts were also made to insure the sample was a cross-section of Tongan population which involved no particular religious or economic group in excess.[2] Therefore, it was fully recognized from the onset of this research that in surveys of an entire population, as well as specific groups within the population, one should make every possible effort to gain results which are representative and unbiased. The sampling took into account specific cultural and occupational characteristics of the area and the population.

After the individual sample subject was selected, every effort was made to gain complete information for that subject. Of the total sample, a research sampling of 265 Tongan preschoolers were selected from rural and urban areas throughout Tonga. In the selection of each subject, care was taken that only one per family was included in the sample. Upon initial inspection, if the child was

---

121 262 [1] The possibility of such dietary variations as mineral consumption between rural and urban children was recognized as a factor which could result in differences in the growth profile between the two groups. Research pertaining to such cause and effect was not undertaken within the scope of the present endeavor. However, one possibility for future research is seen in the role of zinc in relation to the large consumption of wheat bread in urban areas.

795 184 145 [2] The most obvious case was that of Mormon (Latter Day Saints) families. Without exception, children in these households appeared better cared for in terms of physical development and general conditioning. This distinction was noted early in the sampling process and was compensated for.

A [See Category 125, p. 183-188—Analyst.]

369 Considering the urban characteristics set forth by the South Pacific Commission as being applicable to the Pacific islands, it becomes apparent that the cities of Pangai, Neiafu, and Nuku'alofa can be defined as being urban centers. In the case of Mu'a, though larger than Pangai in terms of population, the lack of such urban characteristics as government, commerce, and economics eliminates it from urban classification, under the South Pacific Commission's definition.

162 Other population groupings of significance include church
795 training facilities and schools. The most important of these are
873 Salote College and Toloa Methodist Training College, sponsored by
874 the Wesleyan Methodist organization, and Liahona High School,
[162] sponsored by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Each of these include several hundred students and staff, many of whom live in housing provided by the respective schools.

874 Other groupings to be considered within this classification
162 are the training camp for the Tongan defense force and the police training facility, both on Tongatupa. The population of these two facilities, though largely transient, must be recognized.

161 The historical growth of Tongan population can only be
128 estimated through calculation of approximate numbers supported by
161 approximate tillable acreage. Therefore, figures representing the
128 population prior to the first census (1921) reflect educated guesses
127 supported at times by missionary estimates and head counts (Walsh 1970, p. 31). In addition, none of the censuses prior to 1956 can
161
127 be considered to be entirely reliable. McArthur stated that

842 Tongan traditions are contrary to the concept of reduced
168 family size. Prior to 1950, high infant mortality motivated pro-
[164] duction of large numbers of offspring. In addition, a large family
[165] represented security for elderly parents. However, with the intro-
161 duction of public health facilities, such as water purification,
[165] infant mortality declined, but without a corresponding decline in
[163] the birth rate. Thus, family size has increased slightly. The
[162] average number of persons per household in 1956 was 6.6, while in
1966 this figure was 6.7.

168 Several of the active religions within the Tongan Kingdom
● 795 are a second major obstacle to effective family planning. These
842 church groups (Mormon, Free Church of Tonga and Catholic) are outspoken in their opposition to family planning and birth control. Estimates of lay agreement to this opposition vary. The Office of Family Planning in Tonga claims that 18 percent of the Catholic population participates in the program. However, interviews conducted in a cross sampling of the Tongan population indicated a much lower percentage of Catholic supporters. Interviews with Mormon and Free Church members indicated consistent rejection of the family planning project. Despite the fact that the majority of the Tongan population is of Methodist affiliation, the influence of smaller church groups should not be underestimated. The Mormon church mission, for example, has experienced a rapid expansion in all areas of the Kingdom. The potential for a religious-based block to governmental birth control programs is not insignificant (Clark 1974).

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

137 These islands are remarkable for their fertility and the variety
134 of their vegetable productions, abounding in fruits indigenous to
tropical climates, such as the cocoa nut, bread fruit, banana, pine
137 apple, orange, citron, lime, custard apple, and others. Yams, melons,
and pumpkins are also very plentiful, and of excellent quality.

161 The population of all the groups is estimated by the missiona-
ries at about 50,000; that of the Island of Tongatabu is said to
162 be about 9000, of which 5000 are Protestants, 600 Roman Catho-
795 lics, the rest remain in their old faith.

The government of the islands is despotic, and not hereditary,
643 but elective in the royal family. The eldest son of the king does
[642] not necessarily succeed his father, but another may be chosen from
the sons of a former king, or a younger son may be elected before
an elder if he be thought to have more capacity for government.

644 There are some individuals connected with the priesthood, who
554 are considered superior in rank to the kings, and to whom the kings
[643] do homage. The Tamahá is one of these, and is considered to be
descended from the gods. The present Tamahá is a very old
woman, quite blind, who remembers the visits of Captain Cook,
and, although a Christian for many years, she still retains her rank
as the first person in the Tonga Islands.

643 George, the present King of the Friendly Islands, has only been
ruler over the whole of the three groups, composing them, since the
[634] year 1845. Before this he was King of the Haabai group only,
Josiah Tubou being King of Tonga, and Feenau King of Vavau.
When Feenau died, George became King of Vavau as well as
of Haabai, and Josiah, King of Tonga, dying in 1844, George
became Tui Kanokubolu, and now reigns over the whole of the
Friendly Islands. He has professed Christianity for about twenty-one years.

122 The Meander, Captain Keppel, sailed from the Bay of Islands,
New Zealand, on the 10th of June, 1850.

At daylight in the morning of the 19th we made "Eua," an island situated on the eastern side of Tongatabu; and soon afterwards the tops of the cocoa-nut trees upon Tonga itself were seen along the horizon to the westward.

At 8·30 A.M. we fired two guns, and kept away N.W. by W., steering for an opening between Tongatabu and a small islet called in the chart Eua-Eki.

123 Upon nearing the eastern side of Tongatabu, very heavy rollers were seen along the shore of the island, the surf upon the reefs being thrown up to a great height, the scrub being all beaten down, and the cocoa-nut trees appearing further inland than in other places. Seeing no canoes or natives, we fired a third gun, and shortened sail to topsails, sending up the colours and the signal for a pilot. Soon afterwards a canoe was observed coming off, and the ship